

The University of Chicago

THE PLACE OF RELIGIOUS REVIVAL-
ISM IN THE FORMATION OF THE
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNITY
ON KLAMATH RESERVATION

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

1937
~~1937~~

By
PHILLEO NASH

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Reprinted from *Social Anthropology of North American
Tribes*, University of Chicago Press, 1937

The University of Chicago

THE PLACE OF RELIGIOUS REVIVAL-
ISM IN THE FORMATION OF THE
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNITY
ON KLAMATH RESERVATION

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

1937

By
PHILLEO NASH

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Reprinted from *Social Anthropology of North American
Tribes*, University of Chicago Press, 1937



THE PLACE OF RELIGIOUS REVIVALISM IN THE FORMATION OF THE INTERCULTURAL COM- MUNITY ON KLAMATH RESERVATION

PHILLEO NASH

INTRODUCTION

Observers of primitive peoples have frequently mentioned the appearance of religious revivalism in the initial stages of the adjustment of these peoples to white contact. Such revivals are remarkably uniform in doctrine despite the dissimilarity of the cultures in which they appear. Yet careful examination of such doctrines shows that they are not mere importations of Christian dogma, and that their similarity cannot be explained solely on that basis. On the contrary, they usually rest firmly on aboriginal religious beliefs, which have been re-worked and reintegrated in a manner which gives an appearance of uniformity. The uniform aspects of the doctrine are usually assertions about the future in which destruction is assured for persons or objects associated with the whites, and salvation and rebirth are assured for the natives. The ritual of such movements varies widely, from amorphous mass hysteria to elaborate rituals based on aboriginal ceremonialism.

A study of revivalism in three primitive groups¹ led me to the formation of a hypothesis about revivalism and early white contact: *Nativistic cults arise among deprived groups. They follow a shift in the value pattern, due to suppression and domination, and are movements to restore the original value pattern which they do by the construction of a fantasy situation. The nature of this fantasy, which is basic to the cult, is a function of (1) the original value*

¹ The *Tana Baghat* movement among the Oraon of the Chota Nagpur Plateau in India; the *Vailala* Madness among the Papuans of British New Guinea; the Ghost Dance of 1890 among the Indians of the Plateau and Plains areas of North America (see the accounts by Roy, Williams, Mooney, Nash, and Lesser in the Bibliography).

pattern and (2) the successive changes in the value pattern under white domination.

In 1935-36 I had an opportunity to test this hypothesis by the careful examination of a nativistic religious revival on Klamath Indian Reservation which took place between 1871-78.² On this reservation, in 1864, members of three tribes were brought together.³ Two of these, the Klamath and Modoc, were closely allied in language and culture; the third, consisting of two bands of Paviotso, had certain cultural affinities with the Klamath and Modoc but were nevertheless a distinct cultural and linguistic entity. In 1871 the members of these three groups were presented with the doctrine and ritual of the 1870 Ghost Dance. The movement lasted until 1878 on Klamath Reservation. It went through three easily recognized phases, differing in doctrine and ritual, which drew their adherents from different segments of the Indian population.

Here, then, was a situation in which the validity of the hypothesis might be tested. If the hypothesis is correct, those groups which participated most fully in the revival should be those which suffered most deprivation in their contacts with whites. Furthermore, the fantasy situation integral to the cult should be appropriate to shifts in the value pattern which had taken place in the formation of the intercultural community.

The main problem, therefore, was broken down into two problems, concerned with two classes of facts. The first of these was the problem of deprivation.⁴ It was necessary to learn what

² This project was carried out June 15, 1935-July 20, 1936 as a Pre-doctoral Fellow of the Social Science Research Council.

³ "Tribes" is used loosely and implies cultural unity, not a cohesive political organization.

⁴ As W. Lloyd Warner has pointed out (*Nativistic Religious Movements*, p. 5 n.), my use of the term "deprivation" and its correlate "indulgence" is derived from psychoanalytic terminology. In the psychoanalytic vocabulary deprivation has been used to designate the denial to, or withdrawal from, the individual of satisfactions. In transferring this concept to a sociological context, I have retained this simple meaning, making no effort to distinguish between kinds of satisfactions or the levels within the personality on which their denial is felt as a loss. I do not believe that by thus adopting a psychological term for purposes of sociological analysis I have made an analogy between the individual psycho-

elements within the Indian community on Klamath Reservation had been deprived or indulged during the formation of the intercultural community. To this end informants were questioned and Indian Service records were consulted for observations made and opinions formed at the time. It was felt that acts of aggression committed or condoned represented potential sources of deprivation and indulgence. It was also felt that the introduction of new values, with attendant techniques for acquiring them, represented potential sources of deprivation and indulgence. Specific instances were enumerated in such a way as to make possible an estimate of the most deprived and indulged groups.

The second problem was that of participation in the religious revival. Each phase of the revival had a distinct doctrine and distinct ritual practices. Each phase also constructed in its doctrine a fantasy situation. If the hypothesis is correct, this fantasy should express the restoration of the values denied its adherents, and the mode of participation in ritual experience should be appropriate. All the symbolic aspects of the revival were open to this kind of interpretation. The doctrine, songs, face-painting, and ritual—that aspect of the revival which was common to all its adherents—were an easily reached source of information. The more personal aspects of the revival—autisms in the form of dreams and visions—were also examined, in so far as they could be recaptured.

THE FORMATION OF THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNITY

CULTURE CHANGE IN THE PRE-RESERVATION PERIOD

The three groups now on Klamath Reservation—the Klamath, Modoc, and Paviotso—were brought together after varied experiences of initial white contact. The general area originally

physical organism and society, as Dr. Warner says, or implied a collective reaction. It is individuals who are deprived and indulged, and these terms are used in this distributive sense rather than in a collective sense. It is possible for individuals to identify personal deprivation with damage to a group or collective symbol, and such an identification took place on Klamath Reservation, but this does not necessarily imply that the society was damaged or deprived as a person is damaged or deprived.

inhabited by these peoples embraced the lake district of southeastern Oregon and its extension in northern California. This general area was the last in Oregon to be settled by whites. The first extensive white settlements in Oregon were at the juncture of the Columbia and the Willamette rivers. This was the goal of the migrations beginning in 1843. About 1850 the valleys of the Umpqua and the Rogue in southwestern Oregon, began to attract settlers. Extensive settlement in northeastern Oregon began after 1858, when the Walla-Walla Valley was opened to emigrants, and continued when gold was discovered in the Blue Mountains in 1861. Settlement in the lake district did not begin until 1863, and in far-eastern Oregon, not until after the Snake Wars of 1866-68.

Within the lake district of Oregon the Indians of the present Klamath Reservation were distributed as follows. The Klamath occupied the drainage basin of Upper Klamath Lake, which lies near the eastern slope of the Cascades, close to the California line. The Modoc occupied the drainage basins of Lower Klamath and Tule lakes. Both of these lakes have rather large drainage areas over which these peoples wandered in the summer, collecting roots and seeds for winter use. In the winter they occupied permanent settlements on the borders of their respective lakes. The Paviotso, now on Klamath Reservation, formerly occupied the area around Silver and Summer lakes in central Oregon—a region which adjoined Klamath territory on the northeast. In addition to these, a group of Paviotso, who originally inhabited Warner Valley in eastern Oregon and Surprise Valley in northeastern California, were associated at one time with Klamath Reservation. The circumstances under which these three Indian groups first met whites, and the degree of change introduced into their lives by contact with white culture, vary widely.

Klamath.—The Klamath had early casual contacts with explorers—Ogden in 1825-26 and Frémont in 1843 and again in 1846—which left no known impress on Klamath culture. Much more lasting effects were felt when the Klamath encountered a body of French-Canadian trappers who introduced them to

European trade goods and took some Klamath with them to The Dalles. Spier places the first encounter at about 1835.⁵ The Dalles, both in prehistoric and historic times, has been a meeting place for members of diverse cultures and a great center of trade. As far as can be ascertained at the present time, the Klamath have always had trade relations through intermediaries with The Dalles, but this trade was stimulated after 1835 by actual visits to The Dalles and the introduction of horses as objects of trade. Horses never entered Klamath technology in any vital sense, though they did enter Klamath economy as objects of wealth and units of exchange. Their presence vastly stimulated trade and modified the relations of the Klamath, both among themselves and with other tribes. In order to get horses the Klamath traded slaves at The Dalles. These slaves were principally Indians from Pit River in California (Achomawi and Atsugewi), secondarily Paviotso, Shasta, and Upland Takelma. Some of these the Klamath captured themselves, but in the main they were captured by the Modoc, who traded them to the Klamath who, in turn, took them to The Dalles.

The principal internal effect of this trade was a change in the structure of Klamath society. Prior to the trading period shamans were the richest and most powerful members of Klamath society. But with the increase in trade new values of many sorts entered Klamath culture, together with the enhancement of an old skill—trading—appropriate to acquisition of these new values. This skill was not at the disposal of the shamans. In Klamath culture shamans neither worked nor fought but stayed at home, living in houses others built for them, and on wealth accumulated by fees for curing. The new trade objects, therefore, entered the society in the hands of adventurous, younger men, who traveled with the French-Canadians to The Dalles. These young men learned to speak Chinook jargon; became shrewd traders; accumulated horses as wealth; raided or traded for slaves and kept slaves in their houses; accumulated trade beads, Plains-type clothing, and war accouterments of many kinds; and began to exercise "chiefly" prerogatives which they

⁵ *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 7.

learned from other Indians at The Dalles. These were the leading men whom the white administrators first encountered in the 1860's and called "chiefs."

Modoc.—The Modoc shared to a certain extent in these changes before they had any direct contact with whites. The changes in Modoc culture were akin to the changes in Klamath culture but less pronounced. The Modoc did not go to The Dalles themselves but traded indirectly through the Klamath and later through the Warm Springs Indians. The Modoc did not learn to speak Chinook. They acquired horses later than the Klamath; Plains-type clothing was less common among them; Modoc "chiefs" never became as powerful or as different from commoners as the Klamath "chiefs"; and at the same time Modoc shamans remained more powerful, more aggressive, more hated and feared among the Modoc than among the Klamath.

The first extensive personal contact between Modoc and whites came as a result of road exploration in the early days of Oregon settlement.⁶ In 1846 Jesse Applegate and his brother Lindsay (later the first official of the Indian Service on Klamath Reservation) explored southern Oregon for a wagon road from Fort Hall, in what is now southeastern Idaho, to the valleys of southwestern Oregon, and through them to the Willamette Valley. They were successful in their search. When they returned in the fall of 1846, they brought with them a small wagon party which suffered hardship but, nevertheless, successfully reached the Willamette. From this time on interest in this route, which came to be known as the South Emigrant Road, increased, though it never became more than an alternative route. The bulk of the migration passed over the northern route, but the volume which passed over the South Road was still very large.

The South Road not only passed through the Modoc summer range, thus seriously disturbing Modoc life, but also passed around Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, where the Modoc had their permanent settlements. The Modoc resisted the encroachment on their territory by raiding and destroying wagon trains.

⁶ Applegate, *Notes and Reminiscences*, pp. 12-45.

Such attacks were followed by reprisals, and these reprisals by more depredations.

The result was a long struggle in which many lives were lost, both Modoc and white. As far as the Modoc were concerned, the climax of the struggle was the Ben Wright affair. In September, 1852, when the South Road had been in use about five years, the Modoc attacked a wagon train on the east side of Tule Lake and killed or captured all the emigrants. The citizens of Yreka, a near-by town in northern California, were enraged, and one Ben Wright organized a company of volunteers to punish the Modoc. Wright's plans are not clear, but there is reason to believe that he intended to offer the Indians a steer which had been poisoned with strychnine. A peace meeting was held, but the Indians refused to eat the meat. Wright's volunteers drew their pistols and shot forty-one out of the forty-six Indians present. This attack was remembered bitterly by the Indians. Seventeen years later, when the Modoc were in a peace conference with A. B. Meacham, this treacherous attack was brought up again and used as a symbol around which the Modoc rallied and refused to return to the reservation.

It is not possible to make an estimate of the number of Modoc killed or the extent to which Modoc life was disrupted. The loss to the white community is known.⁷ Some idea of the Indian reaction to this situation may be gained from a speech made by Sconchin, in reservation days the head chief of the Modoc. He said:

I thought if we killed all the white men we saw, that no more would come. We killed all we could; but they came more and more like new grass in the spring. I looked around and saw that many of our young men were dead and could not come back to fight. My heart was sick. My people were few. I threw down my gun. I said, "I will not fight again." I made friends with the white man. I am an old man; I cannot fight now. I want to die in peace.⁸

Subsequent to the Applegate exploration there was some military exploration of southeastern and eastern Oregon in 1849, 1858, and 1864, none of which passed directly through the Modoc

⁷ Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, II, 477.

⁸ Quoted in Meacham, *Wigwam and Warpath*, p. 297.

country. Drew's exploration, that of 1864, had some bearing on Modoc-white relations, for it opened up a shorter wagon road than the one through the Modoc country, and from that time forward the migrations passed through Klamath rather than through Modoc territory. The benefit to the Modoc was small however, for by 1864 the size of the annual migrations had fallen off on the southern route.

By this time the era of settlement had opened for both Modoc and Klamath. In 1863 George Nourse, the first white settler in the Klamath basin, took up land at the lower end of Upper Klamath Lake where Klamath Falls now stands. In the same year one of the Applegates built a ranch near Clear Lake in the Modoc country. From this time on, the Lower Klamath and Tule basins filled up steadily, especially in the Modoc country.

The net effect of this early period of white contact on the Modoc was threefold. The internal structure of Modoc society was somewhat modified by changes in the economic system which followed the increase in trade with the Klamath, and through them with The Dalles. In their personal contacts with whites, which occurred as a result of the opening of the South Emigrant Road and the establishment of Yreka, California, as a trade center for the California and Oregon mines, the Modoc suffered the loss of part of their number in guerilla warfare and a serious disruption of their economic life through the disturbance of their summer wanderings. Sometime during this pre-reservation period a division of opinion arose, and factions were created over the matter of policy in dealing with whites. As armed resistance proved ineffectual, one of the older leaders, Sconchin, decided to accept the new situation. Some of the younger men refused to do so, and over this issue the loose factionalism of aboriginal times crystallized, with Sconchin and Keintpoos, afterward named Captain Jack, opposed as leaders. The conflict thus initiated was not resolved until later years.

Paviotso.—Southeastern Oregon, the country inhabited aboriginally by the Paviotso, was a remote region with little to attract settlers in the early days. Its fringes were visited by Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1825, by road explora-

tion parties in 1852 and 1859, and by immigrants in 1853. Warner Valley was penetrated by Captain Warner in 1849, and there he was killed by the Indians. This valley was not visited again until Steene reconnoitered there in 1860. Frémont passed through the Silver and Summer lakes district in 1843. This region had no further contact with whites until the movement of miners from California to northeastern Oregon in 1861 brought wagon parties.

Prior to the establishment of Klamath Reservation in 1864, therefore, the Paviotso had experienced very little contact with whites. The Warner Valley group had seen only Warner, Steene, and Drew, and a few California emigrant parties which took the Warner Valley route to the Oregon mines. The Silver-Summer Lake group had seen only Frémont and a few emigrant miners. They had attacked whatever intruders they had seen, but these had been few. Their range had not been disturbed, they had not been attacked themselves, and they had not had sufficient contact of any kind to modify their culture.

CULTURE CHANGE IN THE RESERVATION PERIOD

Establishment of the reservation.—As early as 1858 it was proposed to negotiate a treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, Shoshone, and Bannock, who were then the only remaining Indians in Oregon Territory who had not signed treaties. A site for an agency was selected, but no effort was made to meet the Indians.⁹

In 1864 Elisha Steele, then acting superintendent of Indian affairs in northern California, negotiated an unauthorized treaty with the Modoc. This treaty specified an area, partly in California and partly in Oregon, which was designated as "appropriate" for the Modoc but did not secure a government title to it, nor did it extinguish the Indian title to remaining Modoc territory in northern California. This agreement was never accepted by the United States government. Steele was not authorized to make agreements of this kind, and at the same time he was conducting his negotiations, preparations were under way for a joint council of Klamath, Modoc, and two groups of Pavi-

⁹ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

otso at Upper Klamath Lake. The effect of this agreement on the Modoc, however, may well be imagined. It gave them their homeland around Tule Lake, which from this time forward they believed was secure in their possession. Furthermore, it will be remembered that a dispute had arisen among the Modoc over their policy in dealing with whites, and that Keintpoos was the leader of the faction which favored continued resistance. His leadership was not undisputed even within this faction, however. John Sconchin, brother to the man afterward made head chief of the Modoc on Klamath Reservation, was more eager than Keintpoos to continue resistance to white encroachment. At the meeting which culminated in the agreement between Steele and the Modoc, Steele supervised an election in which John Sconchin and Keintpoos were the contestants. Keintpoos was the victor, and Steele recognized him as "chief" of all the Modoc and named him Captain Jack. John Sconchin was jealous and worked against Captain Jack after that, attempting to undermine his authority. Both of these men were younger aspirants to leadership. John Sconchin's brother apparently was not a contestant in this election. He had his opportunity later, when he was selected as head chief by the government.

In this same year, 1864, authorized government representatives arrived at Upper Klamath Lake to confer with the Indians.¹⁰ Invited to this conference were the Klamath, Modoc, and two groups designated as "Yahooskin Snakes" and "Walpape Snakes." It is impossible to learn from the treaty exactly whom the commissioners dealt with as "Yahooskin Snakes." The people afterward designated by that name on the reservation were the Klamath who had their permanent settlements in the Sprague River Valley and had intermarried to some extent with the Modoc. Their habitat has been, and still is, the eastern end of Klamath Reservation, known locally as the "Upper End." They will be designated here as the Upper End Klamath.

The "Walpape Snakes" were the Paviotso who lived originally in the Silver-Summer lake region. At this time the leader of this group recognized by the whites was Panina. He refused to

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 505-8.

come to the conference, and in October, 1864, a treaty was negotiated between the other three groups and the United States commissioners.

The Treaty of 1864 was a standard agreement which embodied provisions used in negotiating treaties with all the Oregon tribes. It provided, among other things, for the extinguishing of the Indian title to the entire southeastern Oregon region; it set aside a reservation for the exclusive use of these and other undesignated Indian tribes; and it provided for their civilization and eventual allotment on individually owned tracts of land.¹¹

The reservation established was slightly larger than the present Klamath Reservation, which has been reduced in size by subsequent land surveys and exchanges. It embraced the nucleus of aboriginal Klamath territory but included no Modoc or Paviotso territory. It is reported that the Klamath signed willingly, but that the Modoc and Paviotso signed reluctantly.

As the commissioners of the federal government returned north from Klamath Reservation, they were fortunate enough to capture the family of Panina. They were held as hostages, and Panina agreed to come to a council the following year. A treaty was negotiated August 12, 1865,¹² and Panina with a few of his followers settled down at the Upper End. Operations began on the reservation a year after the treaty was signed by the Indians. Lindsay Applegate, who had long been associated with the development of the country, was appointed subagent and took office in September, 1865. He visited the Indians and issued rations that fall, and returned in the spring of 1866, when he selected a site for an agency and began construction. The site he selected was near the site of the present Klamath Agency in the heart of Klamath territory. This part of the reservation is known locally as the "Lower End." It represents that portion of Klamath territory in which the majority of the permanent winter settlements were formerly located. There is a natural division between this western part of the reservation and the

¹¹ The treaty examined was a copy in the files at Klamath Agency.

¹² A letter from L. Applegate to Superintendent Huntington, March 31, 1866 (in *Official Correspondence, Klamath Agency*).

eastern part, here called the Upper End. This terminology will be followed in this paper.

It will be seen that the agency, the permanent Klamath settlements, and the military garrison (Fort Klamath) were close together and formed a compact community on the Lower End. A small town which was growing up at the foot of the lake, Linkville (later Klamath Falls), was peripheral to the Lower End community.

As soon as the agency was established, the Upper End Klamath were added to this community, for they were fearful of raids from the Paviotso in eastern Oregon. The Silver-Summer Lake Paviotso were divided. A portion of them remained with Panina on the reservation, but the remainder were fearful that they would not be fed through the winter and returned to Silver Lake. The following spring (1866) Panina left the reservation with his people, and was gone until July, 1868, when a portion of them returned. A month later the remainder came in, after making peace. In the interim Panina had been killed. The Paviotso had had but little ammunition and had spent most of their time dodging the troops. They had eaten their horses and were reported by the agent to be in a miserable condition.¹³

Although the Silver-Summer Lake Paviotso had given up the struggle and had come onto the reservation, the Snake War was not yet over. Later in that year the Warner Valley Paviotso made an agreement with General Crook. Crook was opposed to the reservation policy and did not insist that this group remove to any reservation. Instead he agreed to take care of them at Camp Warner, in eastern Oregon, until some arrangement could be made for them. They remained there through the winter of 1868, and in the spring of 1869 they made an informal agreement with A. B. Meacham, the new superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon, to remove to Yainax, on the Upper End of Klamath Reservation.

In the meantime a portion of the Modoc moved onto Klamath Reservation. In September, 1867, Applegate called a council of Indians to inform them that the treaty had been ratified, but

¹³ Letter from L. Applegate to Superintendent Huntington, August 21, 1868.

only a portion of the Modoc attended. In October Superintendent Huntington left The Dalles with the first annuity goods, and in November a portion of the Modoc under Sconchin arrived on the reservation to receive their goods. They remained and settled down for the winter at the Lower End near what is now called Modoc Point.

December, 1867, therefore marked the beginning of the reservation community on the Lower End. Both the Upper and the Lower Klamath and part of the Modoc were in close proximity for the first time; the Paviotso had left the reservation. The agency and the fort were close by. Thirty miles away George Nourse had just completed a ferry across Link River at what was shortly to become the town of Linkville.

When the Paviotso returned from eastern Oregon, they settled down in the Sprague River Valley at the Upper End. Once the danger of attack was removed, part of the Klamath also returned to the Upper End, from which they had come originally. A station with a commissary in charge was established at Yainax, and thus a second community within the reservation came into being at the Upper End. It was isolated from the fort and from white settlements, and was then, as that end of the reservation still is, a distinct community which has been more insulated from extensive white contact than any other portion of the reservation.

The Tule Lake Modoc.—From the time (1867) Sconchin's faction separated from Captain Jack's faction until 1869, the latter group remained in the Tule basin. That country was rapidly filling up with settlers who were constantly exerting pressure to have Captain Jack's band removed. They asserted that members of this band stole cattle, frightened the women and children by demanding that meals be prepared for them, etc. To all this Captain Jack replied that he had been swindled out of his reservation in the Tule basin; that he had not known what he was signing when he put his name to the Treaty of 1864; that he desired only to be let alone; and that his friends in Yreka had advised him to stay where he was. One of Jack's Yreka friends to whom he referred was Elisha Steele, who had negotiated the

unratified agreement in 1864. Steele supported Jack's complaint of being swindled. He wrote letters to Washington about the matter and also gave letters to Jack and his people in which he repeated Jack's complaint and commended him to the friendly consideration of white people with whom he came into contact.¹⁴

In 1869, with the change in national administration, came a change in the Indian administration in Oregon. A. B. Meacham was made superintendent. One of his early acts was to make a trip into eastern Oregon. There he met and negotiated with Ocheo, leader of the Warner Valley Paviotso, and persuaded him to settle on Klamath Reservation. This group was among the last of the Paviotso to make peace with General Crook. They were not all willing to be moved to Yainax; a wagon train was sent from Klamath Agency to bring them, and some came but not all. Those who remained through the winter left for Warner Valley in the spring of 1870. The next fall they were persuaded to come back again, and this summer-and-winter alternation kept up until the fall of 1876, when they failed to return at all.

While Meacham was at Klamath he arranged a meeting with Captain Jack, at which he persuaded Jack to move to Klamath Reservation. Jack was reluctant to meet Meacham, but the latter persisted and finally met Jack by going to his camp and walking in uninvited. As an illustration of the role shamans continued to play in Modoc life Meacham's account may be quoted:

We made the opening speech in that council [December 19, 1869] setting forth the reasons for our visit and producing the Treaty of 1864. Here Captain Jack began to manifest the same kind of disposition that has been so prominent in his subsequent intercourse with government officials,—a careful, cautious kind of diplomacy that does not come to a point, but continually seeks to shirk responsibility. . . . Finding all his objections fairly met he said if he could live near his friend, Link-River Jack (a Klamath) he *would go*. We began to "breathe easy" feeling that the victory was ours, when the Modoc medicine-man arose and simply said, "We won't go there"; when, presto! From exultation every countenance was changed to an expression of anxiety and every hand grasped a revolver.¹⁵

In spite of this opposition Meacham succeeded. Jack moved to the Lower End, together with all his people, who numbered

¹⁴ Meacham, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

forty-three. Three families, totaling fifteen persons and members of another band, remained behind and were brought in by the soldiers.

At Klamath Reservation the Modoc were located, according to their wishes, adjacent to Link-River Jack's group of Klamath. There was friction between the Modoc and the Klamath, and the Modoc and the agent, from the beginning. The Modoc told Meacham that the Klamath were overbearing; they constantly reminded the Modoc that it was their land, their timber, their water, but that it was all right for the Modoc to use it as long as they remembered to whom it belonged. They told him that they had gone to the agent and asked to be moved, and he refused to listen. The Modoc moved toward Williamson River, but it was just as bad there. They went to see the agent three times, and the third time he proposed they should move again. This was too much for the Modoc, and the night of April 25, 1870, they left in a body.

The agent concerned was an army officer, Captain O. C. Knapp, who had replaced Applegate when the administration changed. His story is different, but almost as damning. He said he wanted the Modoc to be on the river, where there was good water, land, and timber. He told them they must move, that they could select their land three miles north on the river, and he would start a farm for them. A week later he visited them and found they had moved only three miles, and had not bettered their location. He insisted they move again. In justification for this order he reported, "That they did not intend to stay after I stopped issuing rations is well known, and I wanted them to be where they could be watched."¹⁶

It might be supposed that Jack's band was merely restless and regretted its agreement with Meacham if it were not for the fact that Sconchin's Modoc left with the others. They had removed voluntarily to Klamath Reservation and had been as disappointed in their supposed friends, the Klamaths, as Jack's group. They were ridiculed and annoyed in many petty ways. Jack had come on the reservation with only forty-three men, women, and

¹⁶ Letter from Knapp to Parker, May 2, 1870.

children. He left with the entire Modoc tribe, three hundred and seventy-one by the ration issue. There were not sufficient troops at Fort Klamath to bring them back, and there was nothing to be done. Sconchin returned in the late spring with a few families, and others gradually returned until approximately one hundred thirty Modoc were on the reservation. This group settled down at Yainax on the Upper End where they have remained ever since.

At this point the division of the Modoc into two factions was complete. Sconchin's people were united in their acceptance of reservation life, with Sconchin as their acknowledged leader. The same thing was not true of the Modoc who had remained off the reservation. John Sconchin was still anxious to be the acknowledged leader of this group and frequently took issue with Jack. Jack's stand, and the tactics which derived from it, were to remain determinedly in the Tule basin, to avoid conflict with whites, not to confer with representatives of the government, and to wait quietly and peaceably in northern California until his Yreka counselors should be able to get a reservation for him in northern California. John Sconchin and a shaman called "Curly-haired Doctor" were in favor of more active resistance, and the younger men could not be restrained from annoying settlers. The Tule Lake Modoc, moreover, were not as united by close residence as were the reservation Modoc. One group remained throughout this entire period at the foot of Lower Klamath Lake, camping near the Fairchild ranch. They had Fairchild's protection, were unmolested, and caused no trouble themselves. Members of this group, however, had close contact with whites, particularly in Yreka.

The presence of the Modoc in the Tule basin created a problem extremely difficult to solve. They were determined not to return to the reservation, yet the settlers were uneasy and demanded that they be removed. The garrison at Fort Klamath was not strong enough for this task. Meacham blamed Knapp for the whole affair and believed it was still possible to persuade Captain Jack to return peaceably, and that he and his people would stay there if they were separated from the Klamath. His

representatives had nearly persuaded Jack to move when an unfortunate incident occurred. Jack's widowed sister had a daughter who became sick. Jack hired a woman shaman who announced that the girl had become sick from dreaming about herself during her puberty dance. The girl died. Jack refused to believe the shaman and insisted that another shaman, a man, had poisoned the girl with his power, so he killed him. A warrant was sworn out for Jack's arrest, and he became frightened and sullen and refused to discuss removal any more.

Meacham was still in hopes that he could settle the matter peacefully. The military order for Jack's arrest was rescinded, and all plans to remove him were suspended while Meacham tried to arrange for a reservation in the Tule basin. Meacham's proposal was rejected by the Office of Indian Affairs, and he was instructed to remove the Modoc to the reservation. Nothing was done immediately, and in the meantime the administration changed. On April 11, 1872, T. B. Odeneal, the new superintendent in Oregon, was instructed to remove the Modoc or find them a new home. Odeneal replied that Klamath Reservation was the place for the Modoc and soon received instructions to remove the Modoc.

Odeneal requested the commandant at Fort Klamath to bring Captain Jack's band to the reservation. His attempt to do so was a failure. Jack and his followers escaped and in an outbreak of violence murdered fourteen settlers.

The issue was now clear cut. Efforts to resolve the conflict peaceably no longer appeared possible. Public sentiment demanded that civil and military authorities capture the rebellious Modoc and avenge the massacre. To do so proved a difficult matter. Jack and his band intrenched themselves in a natural fort in the lava beds south of Tule Lake, from which they were dislodged only after extended military operations involving one thousand regular and volunteer troops and seventy-two Warm Springs Indian scouts. The details of this struggle are not relevant to this analysis. Jack's band was eventually dislodged, dissension grew in his ranks, and the band scattered. Its members were pursued, captured, and imprisoned. The leaders were tried

for murder, sentenced, and hanged or imprisoned for life. The remainder of the band were removed to Indian Territory as prisoners of war, where they remained until after the period here under consideration.

The personnel of Jack's followers can be determined with some certainty. Jack himself was a young man, ambitious as a leader. Although he headed the anti-white faction within the Modoc tribe, he did not favor open aggression in resisting whites. According to Meacham's information he denounced the murderers of the white settlers at Lost River for their violence and would have given them up in exchange for peace and lands on Lost River, had he been strong enough. He could not overrule the more violent and the more frightened elements in his band, however, and acts of violence were committed in which he was reluctant to take part. One of these was the murder of the peace commission. A. B. Meacham, General Canby (commanding the military forces in the lava beds), and Dr. Thomas, a clergyman, met several times with Jack and his leading men in an effort to induce them to surrender. The last time they met the Indians became excited and shot and killed Canby and Thomas, and nearly killed Meacham. This was a planned murder. Meacham's eyewitness account shows that Jack was reluctant to give the signal for the attack. When he finally did so, his place was taken by John Sconchin who shot Meacham. Jack shot Canby instead of Meacham. By the time this murder took place Jack's band was badly frightened. The members were convinced that the peace commission was only a device to get them out of the lava beds so that the soldiers could kill them all. Jack's behavior and policy show that he was demanding, but that he wished to avoid violence. He was determined to remain in his homeland but did not want to take the responsibility for resisting authority. He constantly blamed others for his predicament. He said he had been tricked into signing the 1864 treaty and that he had been promised other land, but denied taking part in the murders.

John Sconchin was a rival leader to Jack. As we have seen, he was a younger brother of the chief of the reservation Modoc and had been defeated by Jack in Steele's election of 1864. Ac-

cording to Meacham's information he proposed ever more active resistance to whites and worked against Jack, undermining his prestige with his followers. When the Modoc were first attacked by the soldiers, Jack, John Sconchin, and Scar-faced Charley were living together with thirteen other men and their families on one side of Lost River. On the other side were the shaman, Curly-haired Doctor, Boston Charley, and twelve others with their families. Curly-haired Doctor was a man of great influence, who had proposed more active resistance on numerous occasions. He nearly prevented Jack from going to Klamath Reservation in 1869; he first proposed murdering the peace commission; and on at least one and perhaps two occasions, he used his ritual to insure success against the white soldiers. From the fact that Curly-haired Doctor was living across the river from Jack, i.e., in a different settlement, and from the fact that none of the men in his settlement was of equal prominence, I infer that Curly-haired Doctor was the leader of a small faction within Jack's group. The entire group acted together, but there was a separatism present which, taken together with Curly-haired Doctor's known role in Jack's group, suggests that his group contained the more aggressive, eager elements among the Tule Lake Modoc. Out of fourteen heads of families on Curly-haired Doctor's side of the river, the four who are known included three who had a part in the murder of the peace commission.

After the initial effort to remove the Tule Lake Modoc, which precipitated open conflict, Jack's group was joined by a hitherto independent group of Modoc who were members of a single aboriginal local group, the *a'gáwaskni*, or Hot Creek Modoc. This was the group which had been living near the Fairchild ranch under John Fairchild's protection. When news of the massacre reached Fairchild, he attempted to bring this group to Klamath Reservation for their own protection. On the way this group learned of the threats made by settlers, heard that soldiers were coming, and became frightened and bolted, joining Captain Jack in the lava beds.

It was the Hot Creek Modoc who finally made possible Jack's capture. In the engagement of May 10, 1873, one of their

number was killed. None of Jack's close relatives had been killed, and the Hot Creek group accused Jack of putting them in the front of the fighting in order to save his relatives. Eventually they separated from Jack, were pursued, surrendered, and became scouts, leading the soldiers to Captain Jack's retreat.

It is appropriate at this point to summarize the successive roles of the Tule Lake Modoc in the intercultural community. In the early days of white contact this group acted in concert with the rest of the Modoc, actively and aggressively resisting white encroachment. In the latter days of early contact one segment of the Modoc, led by Sconchin, became discouraged by the obvious failure of resistance, and not only accepted the fact of white encroachment but identified themselves with the administrative segment of the white community in such a way as to derive as many advantages as possible. Through the efforts of Steele, Jack found his stand temporarily successful. From this time until Meacham persuaded him to move to Klamath Reservation, Jack pursued a course of passive resistance, in which he was encouraged by Steele and others in Yreka. In pursuing this course, however, Jack had the support of only a small portion of the total Modoc population. Fifteen members remained at Hot Creek, aloof from Jack and the reservation alike, during the entire pre-war period. They had much contact with whites in Yreka and at the Fairchild ranch. Jack had forty-three men, women, and children with him, whereas the total Modoc population was approximately three hundred and seventy-five. When Jack's group moved to Klamath Reservation in 1869, it was ridiculed by the Klamath and failed to get along with either the Klamath or the agent. This might be attributed to Jack's temperament, were it not for the fact that the reservation Modoc had already suffered the same indignities and withdrew with Jack in 1870. When Sconchin returned, he brought with him only one hundred and thirty of the total band. The rest remained with Jack and drifted back later, or went to Hot Creek. When Jack was captured, the total Modoc off the reservation were only one hundred and fifty-nine, showing that some eighty-one must have returned to the reservation in the interim.

Once off the reservation in 1870, Jack pursued his policy of isolation and refused to talk with commissioners, awaiting the support he believed he could get from Yreka. His followers became more demanding, however, were insolent to settlers, and provoked trouble. Jack's tactics of outwaiting the government nearly won him the reservation he wanted, but the administration finally decided against him. Soldiers attempted to remove him forcibly, and his young men broke loose, murdering settlers and eventually murdering the peace commission, and so enraged the public that a peaceful solution was impossible. The frightened Hot Creek band, who scuttled to him for protection, finally brought about his defeat when one of their number was killed. Yet dissension must have been more widespread than merely among the Hot Creek band, for in 1870 there were only fifteen remaining in this group, whereas seventy-five broke away from Jack in the lava beds. Open conflict finally cost Jack and his more aggressive followers their lives and made prisoners of the rest.

Undoubtedly such open aggression was originally provoked by white encroachment. Jack's band contained all the more aggressive elements in the community, both those who favored violence as a means of combating whites, and the frightened, capricious Hot Creek band. But it should be remembered that the Tule Lake Modoc continued for many years to occupy their old lands in defiance of authority, partly because they were encouraged in their stand by their Yreka advisors. In a very real sense the Tule Lake Modoc were the butt of the California-Oregon rivalry which went back to gold-rush days, when California began to draw potential settlers away from Oregon. The Californians accused Oregon of favoring war for commercial reasons—an accusation which had previously been leveled at Yreka merchants by Oregonians. Steele's premature treaty, his offer to get Californian lands for the Modoc, his letters commending Jack to white men, the Yreka merchants' sympathetic attitude toward Jack's stories of ill-treatment on Klamath Reservation, California's reluctance to participate in the Modoc War, and its accusations of commercial motives behind Oregon's participa-

tions in the war, were all aspects of a California-Oregon rivalry. The Modoc, and on other occasions other Indians of northern California and southern Oregon, were unfortunate enough to become the butt of this rivalry which was directly related to continued Modoc resistance to white administrators.

The Lower End community.—It will be remembered that prior to 1879 the Lower End Klamath, the Modoc, and, for a time, the Upper End Klamath formed a small community on the Lower End of Klamath Reservation, of which the agency, Fort Klamath, and the white settlement on Link River were all a part. The Upper End Klamath remained near the agency only during the Snake War, 1866–68. After that time they moved to the Upper End, where their descendants still remain.

The Sconchin Modoc were members of the Lower End community from 1867 to 1870, when they withdrew from the reservation with Captain Jack. Those who returned followed Sconchin to the Upper End. The Indian community on the Lower End, therefore, from the beginning of operations in 1866 up to 1870 will be considered as a single joint Modoc and Klamath community.

Fort Klamath supplied work and a cash market for a small amount of Indian produce. The agent and Meacham both complained of the debauchery of the Indians by soldiers and officers of Fort Klamath, although there is no way of estimating the extent of this influence. Link River was a very small settlement until after 1870, was thirty miles away, and had only a rough wagon trail for communication. Its influence on the Lower End community was negligible during the 1866–70 period. The really important modifying influence in this early period was the agency. The formulation and application of an administrative policy made changes in Klamath, and to some extent in Modoc, life which are directly related to the acceptance of the Ghost Dance in 1871.

Administrative policy on Klamath Reservation may be summarized under four headings: (1) provision of food and clothing for Indians unable to exploit their former range; (2) the introduction of democratic political institutions; (3) incorporation of

Indians in the white world as individual farmers; and (4) a campaign against shamanism.

The effectiveness with which these policies were applied varied widely. During the early period on the Lower End the basic needs of the Indians were met adequately, to the extent that there was no greater want or suffering than that to which the Klamath and Modoc were accustomed aboriginally. Two factors appear to be responsible for this situation. First, administrative control was decentralized during this period. The subagent at Klamath corresponded directly with the superintendent for Oregon at The Dalles. His estimates were met adequately and fairly promptly. The problem of transportation was acute, and there were some delays, but not the administrative delays of the later period. Furthermore, the country was not so heavily populated at first, and the Indians continued to collect wild foods in their regular routine, both on and off the reservation. During this early period beef and wheat were issued only to supplement native foods.

When administrators first came to Klamath, they found a number of leading men whom they designated "chiefs" and who signed the treaty as representatives of the tribes. In 1869 this situation was formalized and remodeled when Applegate arranged for the election of chiefs by popular vote. This opportunity arose through the growing age of Lalakes. This man was one of those who had made himself rich trading slaves for horses at The Dalles in pre-reservation times. When the treaty was signed, he was designated head chief. But by 1869 he was very old, and the Klamath came to Applegate and asked for another head chief. Applegate arranged for the election of a chief and eight subchiefs, and a younger man, Allen David, was chosen after a hot contest. At the same time a court was formed, composed of the head chief and all the subchiefs. A sheriff was chosen from among the Indians, and each chief was given a constable, called a "sergeant" by the Indians. Meacham witnessed the first trial in December, 1869. In 1871 John Meacham, then subagent at Klamath, altered the composition of this court. He arranged for the election of a subchief by the former Pit

River slaves and reduced the number of judges to seven, arranging for meetings only once a month. He reported that the Indians were "too much engaged in lawing."¹⁷

Although the agents have not reported it, the fact is that the chiefs and subchiefs acted as magistrates in their own localities without formal court procedure. This was a prerogative they had never exercised aboriginally, and it greatly enhanced their power and prestige. The court was gradually reduced in power and prestige, however, until in the late seventies it was replaced by the Indian police and a smaller court.

At the same time that the government thus threw the weight of its authority behind the chiefs, it was conducting a campaign against the practice of shamanism. Applegate made no mention of any effort of this kind. Apparently the first agent who attempted to prevent shamanism was Captain Knapp, who arrested, tried, and imprisoned Link-River Doctor for the practice of "spiritual medicine." John Meacham reported an open order against the practice of shamanism and in 1870 declared that the practice had been abolished, but that the belief was as firm as ever.¹⁸ The practice was not abolished, of course; it continued even into modern times. But the campaign was successful in a much subtler way. Klamath and Modoc shamans were believed omnipotent. Yet, after 1869, the Klamath and Modoc saw some shamans shackled, imprisoned, and fined. In at least one instance they saw an agent defy a shaman to kill him by ritual power. In later years (1876) they saw the chiefs, acting independently, sentence a shaman to two years in a dungeon. (This sentence was afterward changed by the agent.) The accounts are not detailed enough to furnish a complete picture of the anti-shamanistic campaign, but the episodes described furnish proof that the prestige and power of the shamans declined somewhat, and that it declined while chiefly power and prestige increased.

The policy of individualization was put into effect in two ways: by encouraging the establishment of one-family farms and

¹⁷ Letter from John Meacham to A. B. Meacham, January 31, 1871.

¹⁸ Letter from John Meacham to A. B. Meacham, November 30, 1870.

by education. The agents at Klamath conceived of education as taking place in the shops and agency farms where Indians were taken as apprentices and in a formal school. By and large these measures were not put into effect at all during Applegate's administration (1865-69), were initiated prior to the Modoc War (1869-72), were interrupted by the war (1872-73), and first became effective after the war.

Applegate was occupied largely with collecting the Modoc and Paviotso, transporting and issuing needed rations, and beginning farm operations in order to make the agency, and ultimately the reservation, self-supporting. As far as possible Applegate employed Indians to work on the agency farm. When a teacher was appointed in 1868, Applegate sent him with some Indian boys into the fields to teach them how to farm. Indians were employed in road-making, rail-splitting and fencing, and farm operations, as far as possible. Applegate asked for a saw-mill in 1869, and it was completed the following year. The Indians performed some of the work in the erection of this mill and, after it was completed, cut and hauled logs for it. This was the extent to which the apprentice and formal school system had been applied prior to the Modoc War.

The Indians first began to erect log houses for themselves and to fence and plow their own land in 1869. In 1870 the superintendent of farming reported fifty acres under cultivation by Indians. The Indians depended largely on help from agency employees in establishing themselves on farms. When fighting broke out in the Modoc War, all the employees were sent to the front; hence through 1872 and 1873, operations were at a standstill. (Every year prior to the war small farms were planted for the Indians.) A gristmill was begun in 1871. Construction which was abandoned during the Modoc War was resumed later, and the mill was completed in 1873. Very little of the grain ground in this mill was grown on Klamath Reservation, however, for agricultural operations, with the exception of one year in Applegate's administration, were a complete failure. Year after year crops were planted and frosted, and were replanted and frosted again in the fall, before they had ripened. The yield was small

on both agency and Indian farms. When operations were resumed after the Modoc War, all the administrative policies were carried out much more effectively. Buildings were erected for a boarding-school, shops were erected for mechanics, and the sawmill and gristmill were used. Indians supplied the sawmill with logs, and in 1876 three hundred thousand feet of lumber was cut, most of which was sold to Fort Klamath, the remainder being used to build frame houses.

The period of effective individualization on one-family farms began in 1874. In that year, and in each succeeding year until 1877, the agents reported that many Indians were building and living on one-family farms; that they were industrious, planting and caring for their crops assiduously; but that they were much discouraged by the failure of their crops owing to frost.

The first manual-training boarding-school was opened in February, 1874. In September of the same year it was closed for lack of funds. As far as possible Dyar, the agent, replaced it with a day school. The boarding-school was not opened again until the fall of 1875. The average attendance throughout the entire period was twenty-five pupils. In 1877 Dyar's wife supplemented the school with instruction to Indian women in household arts. In this same year Indian boys were taken into mechanical shops as apprentices for the first time.

Thus it will be seen that, prior to the Modoc War, the Indians learned something about agricultural techniques on the agency farms and began to establish individual farms for themselves. During all this period they were dependent jointly on their own efforts at collecting wild foods and on gratuity issues from the agency. After the war they established themselves on individual farms much more extensively but were unsuccessful in their efforts to raise crops, through no fault of their own but owing to the exigencies of the climate. They continued to collect wild foods and receive rations, and about 1875 first became interested in the cattle industry. About the same time they began to learn crafts and engage in small enterprises, selling wood, hay, and lumber to the garrison at Fort Klamath. During the whole of this period formal education and the apprentice system were applied to small numbers, but very ineffectually.

These statements apply to the Lower End community. The Upper End Klamath left this community in 1868, and the Modoc in 1870. Hence these policies were never applied to them, but only to the Klamath who remained.

The Upper End community.—The formation of an intercultural community at the Upper End of Klamath Reservation dates from before treaty days. There had always been Klamath settlements on the Lower Sprague River. Shortly before the treaty was signed a group of Modoc settled down in the Upper Sprague River Valley. Some of the Klamath married into this group, and after the treaty was signed, some members of the Klamath settlements which were left out of the reservation moved east, to the Upper End. Thus, the inhabitants of the entire Sprague River Valley, about the time the reservation was formed, were predominantly Klamath but included some Modoc. Members of this mixed group were designated "Yahooskin Snakes" in the treaty, but they behaved in all respects like Klamath. They did not take part in the Snake War; they moved to Williamson River and lived with the Klamath because they were afraid of Snake raids; and at a time when many of the Paviotso wandered off the reservation rather freely, they remained at the Upper End.

In 1868 the Silver-Summer Lake Paviotso returned from eastern Oregon, where they had been dodging the troops, and found Klamath Reservation a haven of refuge. They were fed and clothed at government expense by a commissary who traveled to Yainax for that purpose.

A year later, 1869, the Warner Valley Paviotso, who had been more active in the fighting than the Silver-Summer Lake group, were induced to settle down at Yainax, and a special resident commissary, Ivan D. Applegate, was appointed to administrate them. Ocheo, the leader of this group, was willing to settle permanently at Yainax, but many of his people were not. Portions of the band remained in Warner Valley where they were fed by the garrison at Camp Warner. Every year, from 1869 to 1876, this band divided and vacillated between Yainax and Warner, and had to be persuaded to come to Yainax every winter. In 1876 the appropriations for their subsistence were

withdrawn (no treaty had ever been negotiated with them), and no effort was made to persuade them to return. They settled down in Warner and Surprise valleys, where their descendants are now located. They were members of the Upper End community, therefore, only during three or four months out of every year (from 1869 to 1876).

When the Modoc withdrew from the Lower End in 1870, Sconchin returned to Yainax, bringing some families with him, and in the course of the next few months others drifted back until approximately one hundred and thirty Indians were living at Yainax. Thus the Upper End Indian community consisted, from 1869 to 1876, of about one hundred and twenty Upper End Klamath, one hundred and twenty-eight Silver-Summer Lake Paviotso, one hundred and thirty Modoc, and one hundred and fifty Warner Lake Paviotso.

When these Indians were brought together at Yainax, the nearest white settlers were in the Lost River Valley, fifteen to thirty miles away, and at Linkville, thirty miles away. As time passed, the margins of the reservation were settled, but these points were more distant from the Upper End than from the earlier white settlements. Klamath Agency was, and still is, thirty miles distant from Yainax Station. The Upper End has been, from the beginning, more isolated than any other settled part of the reservation.

Camp Yainax was opened as a permanent administrative station January 1, 1869. During the first two years it was merely a station within the Klamath jurisdiction. While the Modoc complained about their treatment by Captain Knapp, Meacham was still in hopes the Tule Lake Modoc could be persuaded to return if they were given homes separate from the Klamath. He divided the jurisdiction, and from that time to the end of Meacham's administration in 1872, the commissary at Yainax reported direct to Meacham and had separate funds.

Administrative policy was uniform with that adopted at the Lower End. However, it differed in its application. In the early days Yainax was a more compact community, and the commissary had closer and more intimate contact with the Indians, who

had much more confidence in him than the Klamath had in their subagent. The Paviotso, in particular, were provided for more amply during the period here under consideration. Their subsistence came from separate funds which were more adequate for their needs.

In the matter of services the Upper End was not so well taken care of. The staff was always very small. Neither teacher, blacksmith, nor physician was provided at Yainax during the first years of its existence. There were only a commissary, a superintendent of farming, and one incidental laborer during most of the period. A school was planned, but none was provided up to 1877. Administrative policy at the Upper End, therefore, was simpler than at the Lower End and, as applied, had a single aim: to teach the Indians how to farm and to encourage them to settle down and work their own farms.

Three periods may be defined. During the three years prior to 1872 agency buildings were erected, the Indians were helped to build thirty log houses, an agency farm was broken and cultivated, and the Indians were helped to construct farms of their own. During this entire period the Indians were permitted to be away from the reservation during the summer months. By and large they supported themselves, though they were helped out during the winter by ration issues. The farms were never successful, even less so than those at the Lower End, and on July 28, 1872, a severe frost wiped out the entire planting. Agricultural operations were virtually abandoned from that time on.

During the spring and summer of 1873 the Indians were not permitted to go off the reservation to collect wild food. There was great anxiety, lest the reservation Modoc be persuaded to join Captain Jack, and settlers would not have permitted Indians in their territory. A small force of cavalry was stationed at Yainax, and an Indian militia was organized. The Indians were on ration issues during this period.

In April, 1874, three hundred stock cattle were purchased for the Indians on Klamath Reservation, and stock-raising proved successful where agriculture had failed. Some of the Modoc had

previously had experience with cattle in the Tule basin ranches, and a few of the Warner Valley Paviotso had had some experience. From this small beginning the people on the Upper End gradually entered the cattle business. There were no extensive operations during the period under consideration, but a beginning was made.

At no time was a campaign against shamanism prosecuted on the Upper End. At a late date there was an attempt to interfere with the religious revival, but it was not connected with any anti-shamanistic policy.

Both the commissary at Yainax and the subagent at Klamath Agency reported that the Klamath and Modoc on the Upper End were industrious and anxious to get farms for themselves, but that the Paviotso were not at all anxious to do so and retained many of their old customs. They said that the Silver-Summer Lake band were well pleased with Klamath Reservation, but that the Warner Valley group were undecided as to whether to join their friends and relatives in Warner Valley or not.

In general, the formation of the intercultural community on the Upper End was characterized by independence and absence of restraint, by few contacts with whites, by minimal cultural changes, and by the formation of a compact community rather than the scattered type of the Lower End.

The formation of the intercultural communities on both ends of the reservation was characterized by early and simple beginnings of culture change. Acceptance of white customs and techniques were barely under way in this first ten years of administrative control. Ten years later many more changes had taken place, but in the period under consideration the Indians depended on the collection of wild foods in their original habitat, to a large extent, and had taken over certain superficial characteristics of white culture, but the basic change to dependence on individual enterprise in the form of one-family subsistence farms, with reliance on agricultural and grazing techniques, was common only in the last half of the period, and only at the Lower End. The most notable feature is that the Indians accepted the

change eagerly and industriously, only to find that their efforts met with failure, through no fault of their own.

Summary.—Let us now make a résumé of the circumstances under which the various groups on Klamath Reservation met the whites, and were brought together into two communities on the reservation, in order to learn what advantages and disadvantages accrued to the members of the various groups.

The Klamath at an early date began direct trade relations with the whites, which resulted in a shift in the social structure so that the more aggressive, younger men, with no previous background of wealth or social position, derived prestige and wealth through their contacts with whites. Trading was a well-established technique among the Klamath but it was greatly enhanced in the new situation. Thus the position of the shamans as the richest, most powerful, and prominent persons in Klamath culture was successfully challenged by a rising group of younger men. These men were middle-aged when the treaty was signed and were recognized as chiefs by the government. Their position was still further enhanced, their power increased, and their gains consolidated by the introduction of a magistrative system in 1869. At the same time the prestige and power of the shamans were on the decline, through the application of an anti-shamanistic administrative policy.

Early in the reservation period, a division among the chiefs began to take place. Certain of the younger chiefs who had learned to speak English were given jobs at the agency. They became interpreters or farm laborers, supervised the distribution of ration issues, and became herders and teamsters. Both formally and informally they assumed the mediative roles between the administration and the Indians. By thus identifying themselves with the values and techniques of the white community, they estranged themselves to a certain extent from the Indian community but gained in power and wealth, for some of them were paid in money. The other chiefs and the magistrates were never paid a salary.

A small portion of the new values filtered through to the "common" Klamath—those who were neither rich men, sha-

mans, nor slaves. They gradually absorbed certain aspects of the new technology: Plains clothing and iron tools at first; cloth clothing and ration issues later. When the one-family farms were introduced, they were the ones who fenced and plowed land, built cabins, and sowed crops, only to have them destroyed by frost.

Slaves were not specifically mentioned in the treaty. Though their lives were not changed much, they were actually free from that time forward. They had been nominally freed by order of the superintendent in 1869.

In terms of gain and loss, therefore, the Klamath as a whole were better off than either the Modoc or the Paviotso, since they never fought the whites and were not removed, but had the reservation built up around them. Within the Klamath tribe, from the earliest days of white contacts, chiefs and slaves gained, shamans and commoners lost. Shamans, however, were on the losing end from earliest times, while commoners were not seriously deprived until the post-war period, when the effort to raise crops on one-family farms was well under way. Moreover, by the middle of the reservation period, the chiefs were divided into two groups, one of which was gaining values at the expense of the other—agency employees in the mediative roles were gaining at the expense of the more traditional leaders, whose power became more and more nominal as the administration took over more and more functions of leadership.

In terms of the techniques used to gain whatever values were attainable, it will be seen that ritual techniques were on the decline, while secular techniques were in the ascendent. In the early period trading as a skill began to supersede shamanistic practice. And in the later period the skills associated primarily with white culture, in contrast to Klamath culture, were in the ascendent. The ability to speak English and familiarity with agriculture and white crafts superseded trading during the agency period. For the common man the adoption of agricultural skills appeared more desirable than the older hunting and gathering skills or the trading skills, in which he had little part. His adoption of these skills, however, brought failure in the post-

war period. By that time only the agency employees had permanently benefited themselves, and these had done so not through the adoption of agricultural techniques but through the adoption of the other set of skills associated with white culture—the speaking of English and the crafts.

The Modoc as a whole suffered more than any other group in their contacts with the whites. They fought them at first, had their homeland taken away against their will, and suffered ridicule at the hands of their supposed friends—the Klamath. The earliest effects of culture contact reached the Modoc indirectly through the Klamath. Theirs was the economic hinterland to Klamath trade relations. Their raids on the Paviotso and Pit-River Indians, especially the latter, furnished most of the slaves which the Klamath traded at The Dalles.

Within the Modoc a division occurred after the first direct white contact. One group, led by Sconchin, proposed making peace with the whites; the other, more divided in leadership, proposed active resistance. Three leaders emerged within the anti-white faction crystallized by Steele's premature treaty. John Sconchin, Sconchin's brother, was personally ambitious, and favored fighting; Captain Jack was equally demanding but favored a more passive course. Curly-haired Doctor, typical of the old, powerful, and aggressive shaman, followed the traditional association of shaman with factional leader and demanded action from Captain Jack. When prevailed upon by Meacham to compromise, this group was dissatisfied and took the reservation Modoc, who were equally dissatisfied, back to Tule Lake. Sconchin prevailed on some to return with him to Yainax. Jack had Yreka advisers, and Meacham was of the opinion that many of them were motivated by a desire to have a Californian reservation for reasons of trade. It thus appears that the leaders of the two Modoc factions appealed to or relied upon separate segments within the white community to maintain their policies and their own positions as leaders. Sconchin relied upon the administration which regarded him as reliable, faithful, and responsible, and regarded Jack as a dangerous desperado. Jack relied upon his friends in Yreka, who regarded him as

wronged and badly treated on the reservation, and were perhaps interested in making good their promises of 1864 as well as advancing their own interests.

Jack's group, of course, was not subject to the application of the acculturation policy. It cannot be said that they were more deprived than those who remained on the reservation, although by their selection of the more aggressive of alternative modes of action they became more deprived, as when they were defeated by the military forces in the Modoc War. Similarly, it cannot be said that the reservation Modoc were more or less deprived than Jack's Modoc. They simply chose to accept the less aggressive of alternative courses of action. However, they were subject to the application of administrative policy. They were at the Lower End during the early period of active acculturation but, as far as can be learned, had less part in it than the Klamath. No Modoc, for example, are listed as farm laborers or interpreters during the early period. During the late period of acculturation on the reservation the Modoc were at the Upper End, where aboriginal life was carried out more extensively, where the magistrative system was not introduced, chiefs were not elected, shamans were not persecuted, and where farm individualization did not begin until late in the period now under consideration. The primary difference, therefore, between Modoc and Klamath, with respect to the deprivation or indulgence they experienced as a result of their contact with the whites, was the uniform character of deprivation and indulgence within the Modoc as a group.

The personal contacts between the Klamath and the whites, the values and skills introduced, and the application of administrative policy tended to indulge and deprive, differentially, numerous segments within the Klamath population. In particular, the application of the policy of individualization—the breaking-up of communities by putting individual Klamath families on their own farms—tended to make them individually responsible for their own success or failure. That is, it is not only true that there were wide individual differences in indulgence and deprivation in Klamath society; it is also true that the

character of the deprivation, suffered in the late period, was individual in nature. Individual farmers succeeded or failed in their efforts to establish themselves as independent enterprisers.

This was only partly true as far as the Modoc were concerned, and in no instance was the tendency carried as far. The economic changes which produced the basic shift in Klamath social structure were not carried so far among the Modoc. The values and skills introduced among the Klamath were not incorporated among the Modoc. Administrative policy which partially succeeded in individualizing the Klamath was not applied to the Modoc. The deprivation the Modoc suffered was multiple; they lost their young men in the fighting, they lost their homeland as a group, and they were ridiculed by the Klamath because they were Modoc. Most important of all, they were not given the opportunity to learn and apply those skills of individual enterprise—interpreting, mediating, independent farming—in which some Klamath were conspicuously successful. At the time the Klamath were beginning to start farms of their own, the Modoc were still living in three communities, with their own leaders selected in the old manner—informally, by weight of prestige and influence. Their shamans were not persecuted and in the summer they worked their old range, gathering wild food for the winter. Only in the late period, when according to the agents many Klamath were working farms of their own, did the Modoc begin to do the same thing. The ways in which they suffered deprivation were those in which the group as a whole was jointly deprived, and in which the collective symbol “Modoc” was devalued in the eyes of both the white and the Indian community.

In all these things the Upper End Klamath were allied with the Upper End groups generally, and with the Modoc in particular. Both groups were united in opposition to the Paviotso. These latter people consisted of two groups previously described. One, the Warner Valley Paviotso, had suffered severely at the hands of white soldiers in their first white contacts. They were divided in their policies: part of them wished to remain at Klamath; the rest wanted to settle in their homeland. The latter

group were encouraged in their desires by the military forces at Camp Warner, who fed them through the summer. They remained at Klamath only during the winter months, where they were dissatisfied and restless. Those members of the group who wished to stay on the reservation were particularly discouraged. There was a constant possibility that another reservation might be given them or that they might be separated from other members of the group if the latter settled down, in defiance of governmental authority, in Warner Valley. This latter possibility materialized in 1876 when a majority of the group settled there and did not return. In the meantime, on Klamath Reservation, the minority who did not want to go to Warner Valley (members of the Upper End community) were free from all the innovations of administrative policy. They had no elected chiefs, no magistrates, no anti-shamanistic campaign, and no schools, and, like the Modoc, they were free to work their old range during the summer months.

The Silver-Summer Lake Paviotso were united, in most respects, with the Warner Valley group. They were not so active during the Snake War; they did not fight, but rather avoided the troops. When they could avoid them no longer, they came to Klamath Reservation for protection. There they were as immune to change as the other Paviotso. All the Paviotso on Klamath Reservation differed from the other Indians there in that they made no effort to become individual farmers during the entire period under consideration.

It will thus be seen that, with respect to two factors in change, the groups on Klamath Reservation were aligned as follows: (1) with respect to initial deprivation the Modoc suffered most, the Klamath suffered least, and the Paviotso were intermediate; (2) with respect to changes introduced through administrative policy and attendant deprivation and indulgence, the Klamath changed most, the Paviotso least, while the Modoc were intermediate.

THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL OF 1871-78

With the characteristics of the deprived and indulged groups on Klamath Reservation in mind, we may now proceed to that aspect of cultural change which seems most directly correlated

with deprivation—religious revivalism. Between 1871 and 1878—that is, in the latter half of the reservation period under consideration—the members of all three tribes on Klamath Reservation participated in a religious movement. This movement was part of a wider movement known in the ethnographic literature as the “Ghost Dance of 1870.” It began on Walker River Reservation in Nevada in 1869. In the course of the next few years it spread to and was embraced by most of the Indians of southern Oregon and northern California. As Spier has shown,¹⁹ this movement and other revivalistic phenomena in the Pacific Northwest are genetically related. The basic, oldest form Spier designates the “Prophet Dance.” Its Plateau and Basin derivatives, in successive order, have been the Smoholla cult, the Ghost Dance of 1870, and the Ghost Dance of 1890.

Thanks to Spier's,²⁰ Du Bois's,²¹ and Gayton's²² work on the history of the 1870 Ghost Dance, it is possible to compare the forms this movement took on Klamath Reservation with forms of the same movement elsewhere. The immediate problem of this paper, however, is not to compare variants within the framework of the total movement, but to determine to what extent deprivation and indulgence of various groups on Klamath Reservation determined their acceptance or rejection of the movement as it was presented to them; and to learn to what extent cultural change on Klamath Reservation determined new forms or provided new meanings for old forms.

At the outset it may be said that the revival on Klamath Reservation passed through three phases, which correspond in a general way to three phases of the movement elsewhere. However, each phase is successively more limited in its similarity, until, when the third phase is reached, the movement on Klamath Reservation is similar only in its most generalized features to the third phases elsewhere, and specific forms are seen to be indigenous to Klamath Reservation.

Dr. Du Bois, referring to the total 1870 movement, has labeled

¹⁹ *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest.*

²⁰ *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath.*

²¹ *The Ghost Dance of 1870 in N. California and S. Oregon.*

²² *The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South-Central California.*

the first two phases of religious activity the Ghost Dance proper and the Earthlodge cult, and has noted that everywhere these two phases broke down into individual dreaming. On Klamath Reservation the phases are not separated terminologically. Instead, the whole revival is described by a single phrase, "Dream Dancing." The Paviotso had no word for the 1870 revival different from that for any religious activity. In order to distinguish terminologically between the three religious phases on Klamath Reservation, I have followed Dr. Du Bois's terminology for the first two phases and have used the Klamath-Modoc term for the last phase.

THE GHOST DANCE

Sometime during the year 1871 a Paviotso from Walker River named Frank Spencer visited the Paviotso on the Upper End of Klamath Reservation. He brought the message that in Nevada they were dancing to bring the dead back, and that on Klamath they should dance too. He lived on Klamath Reservation for about a year, and one big dance and numerous small dances were held in the Paviotso district. These were strictly Paviotso affairs and were not attended by any of the Klamath or Modoc living near by. Everyone danced. Men, women, and children joined in a circle dance—the classic Paviotso ritual form. A single line of dancers moved clockwise around a central fire. Each dancer stepped out with the left foot and on the next beat dragged the other foot. Small dances were held nearly every night, and men, women, and children bathed at sunrise, even through the winter. There were no paraphernalia, no costumes, no instruments. The entire group sang songs, expressive of the Ghost Dance doctrine, to the effect that dead relatives were returning. No one fainted. While Frank Spencer was at the Upper End, he carried the message to the Modoc and the mixed Klamath and Modoc groups. One large dance was held which lasted five nights. The circle dance just described was used, and all painted their faces the same way—a red background with two horizontal black lines on each cheek. They bathed every morning at sunrise. Many people fainted at this dance and were revived by two men, who dipped bunches of white sage in water and sprinkled them, praying and singing. Sometimes those who

fainted were carried around the circle on a blanket. None of those who fainted had visions.

The Klamath and the Modoc were told that Old Man Coyote was bringing back the dead and the animals that used to be in the region. The songs they sang mostly told about the dead and the "message," and were partly borrowed from the Paviotso and partly original. In all, four dances of five nights each were performed at the Upper End. There was one large performance in the Paviotso district, besides the many small performances: one of mixed Klamath and Modoc, just described; another attended mostly by Modoc; and a fourth southeast of the reservation attended by the Yahooskin only.

The spring of the year the fighting broke out in the Modoc War (1872). Doctor George, a shaman from the reservation Modoc, carried the Paviotso message to the Tule Lake Modoc. A dance ground was prepared at the mouth of Lost River, and the circle dance, as described, was performed. Doctor George, however, introduced some innovations. He had the dancers paint their faces with three horizontal stripes in red, white and black, he stretched a rope of twisted tule around the dance ground and declared that no one who wanted to interfere would be able to cross it, and he erected a pole to the east of the central fire.

Doctor George was specific in his promises and personally ambitious in his role as proselyter and prophet. He said that a Paviotso messenger had told him that all the dead Modoc were coming back, that one who was a headman like a "chief" was coming back and he wanted everyone to dance.

There are different kinds of rules, and unless we do it the right way we are dead and gone. If we are to do as they tell us, we must dance and sing. I will give you a dream so that you can meet them. Even if you are not dead, you just lie down and you will know all about it. All the Modoc are coming back. Put up a long pole, put a fire to one side of it, and dance. If some of you fall down, you must go and meet the dead.

Doctor George told the dancers where to get the pole, told them to come together under it, and showed them how to dance.

One doctor fell down as if he were dead. He went back to meet the dead people coming. He got up and told the people, "Now I have been there, and I saw everyone that is coming back. If any of you fall like I do, you will meet the

people coming back. You must sing like me and believe, or you will be turned to rock. The dead are coming back when the grass is about eight inches high. White people will die out, and only Indians will be left on earth. Whites will burn up and disappear without leaving any ashes. Deer and other animals will all come back. A good many of you have relations who have died. They will all come back, and people will never die any more. Those who will come back have died once, but they will never die any more. You must think of nothing but the dead people coming back."

Doctor George said that he had been back himself to meet the dead and that others could, too, if they would lie down. These people were called "dreamers." Doctor George told them, "Whenever you dream, paint your face red and white. Do as your dream tells you. If you don't obey your dream, you will turn to rock."²³

The Tule Lake Modoc performed the five-day dance only once, after which Doctor George returned to the reservation. The only further interest in the revival which the group showed was in connection with the Modoc War. At the time of the first engagement in the lava beds, Curly-haired Doctor attempted to repeat Doctor George's exploit. He stretched a rope of twisted tule around the Modoc battleground and declared that white soldiers would be unable to cross it. Although the Modoc successfully defended their stronghold, the soldiers did cross the rope, and from that time on the Ghost Dance was discredited in the Tule Lake group.

Certain points in the Ghost Dance doctrine, as this group accepted it, are of interest. It was specifically mentioned that the Modoc dead were returning. Throughout accounts of the movement there are numerous and repetitive references to the dead, to various people's relatives, to the necessity of thinking constantly of the dead, etc. This is not the case in accounts of other Klamath Reservation groups. Communion with the dead was not emphasized at all among the Upper End Klamath and the Paviotso, for example, although it appeared in one known instance among the reservation Modoc. At Tule Lake more threats were directed against nonbelievers or against believers who failed to perform the ritual properly. The ritual was said

²³ From information gathered by Dr. David Rodnick.

to be powerful and dangerous; it was said that the dead would return and that the ritual must be performed, not only to bring back the dead, but to protect the living from the dead.

The doctrine was specific in its promises and threats. The dead, it was said, would return when the grass was a certain height. Unbelievers would be turned to rocks. One woman, who did not participate, lost one of her children during the ritual. The boy's death was said to be a punishment, and it was predicted that she would turn into a bird. The threats were partly directed toward whites; they were to be burned up. Any who tried to interfere would be unable to cross the rope of twisted tule.

This doctrine, therefore, was specific and aggressive toward both whites and unbelievers, and even believers. It was attended by great excitement and considerable autism. None of these things was true of the Ghost Dance among other Klamath Reservation groups. The dead appeared more prominently, and the collective symbol "Modoc" had a role here which similar symbols did not occupy among the other groups.

The role of Doctor George as an innovator should be taken into account. This man afterward became a shaman but was not yet a shaman in 1871. He became one of the best-known and most powerful shamans the Modoc remember. He was killed about 1906, after a patient died, and was the last shaman to be so killed.

He was an aggressive, ambitious man. The pole he used was aboriginally a symbol of shamanism, erected to the east of a shaman's house and decorated with stuffed birds representative of the shaman's spirits. In the Ghost Dance at Tule Lake, Doctor George used this pole somewhat as a shaman uses his. He had the dancers hang furs and blankets on it, he put it on the east side of the fire, he told the dancers where to find it and how to put it up, and he oriented a dance around it. The fact that one who was not a shaman should use such a symbol in a shamanistic way shows that, in spite of the absence of an anti-shamanistic campaign on the Upper End, the barrier between the ritual practices of shamans and nonshamans was already

breaking down. This was a prime characteristic of the entire revival on the Upper End, as will appear in later phases.

The specificity of promises and threats may account in part for the failure of the Ghost Dance to continue at Tule Lake. After the initial enthusiasm, it was tested and rejected. Had there been no opportunity for testing the doctrine, it might, perhaps, have continued. The fact, however, that abandonment of the doctrine coincided with a more direct and aggressive mode of response, namely, fighting, suggests the possibility that in this situation the two responses were mutually exclusive.

The inclusion of the collective symbol and the doctrinal stress on the dead, coupled with extremely aggressive elements in the doctrine, are consonant with the damage to the collective symbol suffered by contact with the whites. The Modoc have suffered; many have died at the hands of the whites. Now it is asserted that the Modoc dead will return, and coupled with their return will be a general destruction of the whites. Yet there is danger in this retaliation for the Modoc. To protect one's self it is necessary to believe, to think constantly of the dead, and to perform the ritual according to the rules laid down by those who have had dream contact with the dead.

The pole introduced by Doctor George is somewhat similar to poles used elsewhere in the Ghost Dance. However, since the context in which Doctor George used the pole is reminiscent of Modoc shamanism, and in view of his shamanistic ambitions, I am inclined to attribute this form to his personal invention rather than to regard it as an importation from outside. Thus, it will be seen that Doctor George employed some of the paraphernalia of shamanism to advance his position within the community, using them in a ritual but nonshamanistic way, and using them before he had experienced the supernatural contact appropriate to becoming a shaman.

Frank Spencer, the Paviotso who brought the Ghost Dance message from Walker River to Klamath Reservation, never visited the Lower End. Sometime during the first year of the revival a Klamath named O'Toole brought the news to the Lower End at the same time that the Upper End Klamath told their

friends on the Lower End about it. One big dance was organized at Williamson River Flat, across the river from the home of Allen David, then head chief. Forty or fifty families participated, mostly Klamath with a few Modoc. They set up their summer houses in a large circle on the flat. The dance ground was inside the circle of houses, set off by a canvas wall and open at the eastern end. In the center of the circle formed by the canvas wall a large fire was built, around which they danced five nights. The dance form was the circle dance already described. The dancers had their faces painted with similar designs but in different colors: two or three horizontal lines on the right cheek in various combinations of red, white, and black. Some dancers lost consciousness, but none had visions. Those who fainted were carried around the circle, sung and prayed over, and brushed with white sage by two men, just as on the Upper End. In the morning after each dance the entire community—men, women, and children—bathed in the river. The songs they used were all in Klamath and were the same as the ones sung by the Klamath at the Upper End.

The leaders in organizing this dance were Lobert, O'Toole, Frank Chilks, and Allen David. Lobert was a shaman, O'Toole, who brought the message from the Upper End, was a "commoner"; Frank Chilks was a "commoner"; while Allen David was head chief. This mixture of two commoners, a chief, and a shaman reflects the general participation in this phase of the revival on the Lower End. The only notable absences were of agency employees. Interest in the Ghost Dance was general, participation was wide, and excitement was minimal. No threats or promises were made, no visions were experienced, and the doctrinal emphasis was on the beneficent aspects of the expected change. The songs said: "Soon all people on earth will live together," or "The message will resound; everyone on earth will hear it."

The attitude of all the groups on the reservation had the common characteristic of mild skepticism. The only Klamath Reservation group which wholeheartedly accepted the personal meanings of the doctrine was the Tule Lake Modoc. The dances

described were all that were held and covered a period of about a year. Sometime during that year a delegation of men from both Upper and Lower Ends traveled into Nevada to learn something about the Paviotso prophet. They were dissatisfied with what they learned and gave an adverse report.

It can be seen that, as far as the Paviotso were concerned, the Ghost Dance was a religious revival in a strict sense: an increase in religious activity accompanied by the enhancement of well-established religious symbols and practices. Their participation was both collective and individual. That is to say, there was one mass ceremonial, followed by much home and family ritual, individual dreaming, and spontaneous personal ritual participation.

The reservation Modoc and the Upper End Klamath responded to the stimulus in much the same way. They had mass ceremonials, no individual performances, and a moderate amount of fainting. The Klamath had no visions, but they sang about both the dead and the "message." The Klamath on the Lower End participated less fully than the Modoc and the Klamath on the Upper End, and had only mass ceremonials, moderate fainting, and no visions, and sang only about the "message."

With these differences in mind, therefore, it may be said that the Klamath and the reservation Modoc responded in much the same way, emphasizing the joint or group aspects of the ceremonial. For neither of these people was the Ghost Dance a revival except in the loose sense; for the dance forms, the "message," some of the songs, face painting, and modes of participation were foreign to aboriginal Klamath and Modoc ritual. They were dancing to an imported message, with imported forms. Their participation implied no discernible anti-white feeling, merely a generalized apprehension about the future, which was approached by the Modoc with some slight concern and by the Klamath optimistically.

THE EARTHLODGE CULT

The Ghost Dance was introduced to Klamath Reservation in 1871, and interest in it lasted about a year. On November 28, 1872, the first attempt was made to bring the Tule Lake Modoc

onto the reservation by force. By this time Frank Spencer had left the reservation and the initial excitement had died down; and a short time later, at Tule Lake, the failure of Curly-haired Doctor's magic rope brought an end to Ghost Dance activity off the reservation.

No further revival activity took place on Klamath Reservation until 1874, sometime within a year after the termination of hostilities. At that time a new message and dance were brought onto the reservation from northern California. The bearers of this new message were Henry Jackson and Pit-River Charley, two former slaves of the Modoc and Klamath, respectively. By birth they were Achomawi or Atsugewi of the Pit River region in northern California, but had been captured as young men in pretreaty times and brought up in the homes of Klamath and Modoc Indians. After the treaty they continued to live on Klamath Reservation. Just after the war they returned to California to visit their relatives. They arrived at the time of the Earthlodge-cult excitement there and visited dances at Falls City and Alturas. Henry Jackson had been a Modoc slave and still lived at Yainax; he and Pit-River Charley roused interest around there. Charley then went to the Lower End, where he lived, and became a leader in the construction of three dance houses there. Under the leadership of these two men the movement progressed simultaneously in the two places.

The doctrine of the Earthlodge cult, throughout its wide distribution as well as on Klamath Reservation, was fairly close to that of the Ghost Dance. It was asserted that the dead would return, that the date of their return was near at hand, and that on the day of their return whites and unbelievers would be destroyed by an earthquake. Dancing, it was said, would hasten the approach of the dead. Dancers were encouraged to faint and dream of the returning dead. The leaders frequently went into trances in which they met the dead and, when they regained consciousness, reported how near the dead were. Many people met and talked with their dead relatives who were then on the march, or had visions of the land of the dead where everyone was happy.

This news came to the Upper End in the winter. The mem-

bers of this community were exhorted to build a semisubterranean house in which the faithful might take refuge on the anticipated day of destruction. Four such houses were built: one on the Upper End and three on the Lower End. The first one was used by Modoc and the Upper End Klamath; the other three were used by Klamath only. These houses were patterned after a type which was standard throughout the southern range of Earthlodge-cult distribution. This type was a house of log and earth construction—circular, with a depressed floor, one main support, and a corridor entrance on the south. All but the Upper End dance house corresponded to this type. The Upper End house was somewhat modified in accordance with Klamath-Modoc usage in house-building. It was also of log and earth construction, was nearly circular but had a slight east-west elongation, had four main supports, and had a corridor entrance on the east. All four dance houses were larger than any built previously on Klamath Reservation.

In the middle of each house, whether it had four posts or only one, a fire was built. A circle of dancers stripped to the waist stood around this fire, either lifting their heels off the ground rhythmically while they sang or flexing their knees in time to the music while they twisted and turned colored handkerchiefs over their heads. Sometimes they moved in a circle, as in the Ghost Dance, but they never joined hands. They continued to dance five nights in order, bathing each morning at sunrise, but they no longer painted their faces. Those who fainted were not revived, in order that they might dream of the dead.

No estimate is possible of the number of performances held. As time went on, dreaming became increasingly common, not only in the dance houses but also at home, until it became endemic, and the features by which the Earthlodge cult may be distinguished merged imperceptibly with the third phase of the revival.

Some idea of group participation, however, may be gained from informants and by a study of the distribution of dance houses. The Paviotso knew of the Earthlodge cult but did not participate in it. There was only one dance house in Modoc

territory, whereas there were three of them in Klamath territory. Some discount must be made for the more diffuse nature of the Klamath settlements. Since there was only one dance house for each principal area of Klamath settlement, and there was also one dance house for the principal area of Modoc settlement, I see no reason to suppose that the Klamath were much more active than the Modoc.

Only one song was remembered which can be positively identified as belonging to the Earthlodge cult. The words to this song are not Klamath-Modoc, and I was told that Pit-River Charley brought it up from California.

Sometime during the year 1874, a delegation composed of members from both Upper and Lower End Modoc and Klamath, but no Paviotso, visited Falls City, California, and journeyed as far east as Fort Crook in order to learn the truth of the Earthlodge "message." This delegation witnessed dances at Falls City and Fort Crook; they believed and carried what they heard back to Klamath Reservation, making the doctrine even stronger.

Several points of comparison between Upper End and Lower End practices are worthy of consideration. Most outstanding are the basic differences in doctrine. On the Upper End the anti-white element was strong, whereas it was absent on the Lower End. Coupled with the anti-white doctrine was the need for protection from the disaster, even by the Modoc. To avoid destruction one must believe and accept the protection of the Earthlodge. On the Upper End the return of the dead was asserted as imminent and predicted for a specific time; this was not the case at the Lower End. And at the Upper End the return of the dead was associated with a wide destruction and was both hoped for and feared, while at the Lower End, in doctrine at least, only the favorable aspects of the dead's return were mentioned. In the Earthlodge cult, therefore, as in the Ghost Dance, the basic difference in attitude of the Upper End and Lower End groups persisted: the Upper End was apprehensive about the future, aggressive toward whites, surrounded itself with ritual precautions to ward off the danger of its own aggressive assertions, and accepted specific promises and threats which

eventually failed to materialize. In this case, however, the failure of the promises did not lead to a rejection of the doctrine, for dreaming became more widespread, and the abandonment of the Earthlodge dances was not due to any rejection of doctrine but to a preoccupation with personal autism. The people of the Upper End were told, when the dead failed to return and the earthquake did not arrive, that they had not believed strongly enough. The important fact, then, is not that the doctrine was rejected, but that the focus of religious interest was shifted from a world-event to the self. This situation contrasts with that of the Tule Lake Modoc during the Ghost Dance. There, by a specific event, the Ghost Dance doctrine was tested, failed, and was rejected. No such single event marked the end of the Earthlodge cult at either the Upper or the Lower End. It is only possible to say that the trend of the entire revival was in the direction of greater preoccupation with the self, and that at this time the individual, as a symbol, was coming into the focus of sociological as well as of ritual attention. This, it will be remembered, was the period in which many Indians began to live on and cultivate their own farms. Administrators were interested in inducing Indians to do so; and many Indians were interested in achieving this status.

For the Earthlodge cult as a whole the outstanding appeal was the possibility of personal communion with the approaching dead. Both ritual and doctrine favored this sort of autism, and it was freely experienced. The role of the leaders stimulated it, for their own trances and pronouncements about the dead were followed by many trances and similar visions by the dancers. The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked. Pit-River Charley and Henry Jackson had both been slaves. At the Klamath Marsh dance house the large center post was called "Charley." Both these men directed the dancing, led the songs, and experienced frequent trances, after which they reported their conversations with the dead.

The personnel of the Earthlodge cult contrasts with the preceding and subsequent movements in an interesting way. The

men who were active in the Ghost Dance and the Dream Dance were by and large the same, whereas the leaders, delegates, and remembered participants of the Earthlodge cult were not so active in either of the other two phases of the revival. The participants in the Earthlodge cult were not all former slaves by any means, but they were principally men who were not prominent in any other way and included only one chief and one shaman. The others were commoners, with a sprinkling of former slaves. The situation was favorable, of course, to men who wished social recognition and had never received it. The ritual was brought in by former slaves who as leaders occupied a role in the ritual which exacted a great deal of personal deference. The Ghost Dance, preoccupied principally with doctrine, did not offer this opportunity, and the Dream Dance, as will be seen, favored the symbolic rather than the real aspects of deference.

The Earthlodge cult differed from the Ghost Dance in many respects, one of which is particularly significant. In the Ghost Dance there were many beliefs and practices which emphasized the joint or communal aspect of the ceremony. Men, women, and children were all required to take part. The dance ground was inclosed, and none of the participants was permitted to leave during the five-day ritual. At the Upper End, Old Man Coyote, identified in part with the culture hero, was said to be at the head of the returning dead. In the dance ritual all joined hands. Face painting was uniform. At the Upper End also it was specified that the dead were Modoc dead. It will be seen that these communal symbols were stronger at the Upper End than at the Lower End, but that in both groups many group symbols were emphasized which were not emphasized in the Earthlodge cult. Not only had the doctrinal stress shifted, but the force of the collective symbol had been to a certain extent dissipated. All the foregoing characteristics of the Ghost Dance were either indifferently observed, had no force, or were subject to individual variation during the Earthlodge cult.

The forms of the Earthlodge cult were derived from more diverse sources than the Ghost Dance. Those that were imported

came from northern California and were uniform with practices there. The dance houses were either of the type used throughout the northern-California distribution of the Earthlodge cult or were a combination of this type with the two types of winter houses used by the Klamath and Modoc. The dance form, unlike that of the Ghost Dance, was not foreign to Klamath-Modoc culture but represented an old form. The colored handkerchiefs are an importation from northern California, where they were used in the Earthlodge cult and allied movements. Those songs used which are still remembered are probably from northern California. Face painting, used only at the Lower End, is non-Klamath and may have been brought with the ritual from northern California, or carried over from the Ghost Dance.

It will be seen that, with the progression from the Ghost Dance to the Earthlodge cult, a shift had taken place in the character of revivalism. In doctrine, practice, personnel, and symbolic appeal the religious interest had moved from the group symbol toward the individual symbol. With reference to differences between the Upper and Lower Ends, the two movements were much the same, although the basic differences of attitude toward whites and apprehension about the future were still there. The Upper End resisted the whites and was apprehensive about the future, whereas the Lower End accepted the whites and was optimistic about the future.

THE DREAM DANCE

During the summer of the first year of the Earthlodge cult, dreaming became more and more common. People began to dream at home as well as at Earthlodge dances. Dream content underwent a change which was different at the two ends of the reservation. Formerly dreamers had experienced visions of the returning dead or had seen the dead engaged in old-time activities. At the Upper End dreams now began to conform to a stereotyped form in which the dreamer saw his dead relatives, who were dancing with their faces painted and sang for him. Such dreamers woke up in the night and sang the songs they had heard in the dream. They sang them with their families in the

morning; and at gatherings, which were held frequently, groups of people sang their dream songs together, performing the dance steps they had seen, and painting their faces like the dead. Dance steps, face painting, and songs were subject to wide individual variation. Each one had his way, and it was compulsory for him to do exactly as he was shown in his dream. Those who did not became sick. Many sick people came to the public dream dances for help. They were carried around in a blanket, in the same way as fainters in the Ghost Dance. One of the Upper End Klamath described one of these episodes:

My cousin, a young boy about my age, was sick, and I went to see him. He said, "I'm glad you're here. I'm going to a good place, where there's no more sickness. I'm sorry for you people. I'm tired. I'm sorry. There are lots of bad things going on here. Now I'm going out. I'm glad you came." I was standing away from him. He called me "cousin" and said, "Don't stand far out. Come close. I love you and you love me. I'll still love you when you're dead. Stay away from trouble." I cried. "Don't be sorry," he said.

That night four men held that sick boy up in a blanket and carried him around to every house in camp. They gave him a piece of meat—one swallow—at each house all the way around. Then they took him to bed. He said, "Good-bye, everybody," and died right there.

Doctor George was active in the Dream Dance. During the winter he held a Dream Dance in an ordinary house which was an earthlodge but not a dance house. Here they danced five nights and bathed in the morning after the last night. They did not paint their faces or form a circle, but they stood in place and danced up and down on their heels, as in the Earthlodge Dance. Several people sang their dream songs, but Doctor George was the principal one. Statements conflict as to whether George was a shaman at this time or not. At any rate he devoted himself principally to helping the sick, whom he rubbed with his hand.

Doctor George derived his power from his dreams, which were very strong. The exact nature of his dream could not be learned, even from his wife and son, and it may never have been revealed. However, he had many dream songs which are known all over the reservation today. There are several versions of them, all of which follow the basic theme: "I am a big horse; I drag the earth behind me."

Doctor George planted a pole outside his winter house, on the east side. It was like the pole he used during the Ghost Dance at Tule Lake, and was like a shaman's pole except for the decorations. Sometimes they danced around this pole in the daytime, and at night they danced inside the house. He told those who came to his dances, especially the prominent men, that they should put up poles in front of their houses, too.

Doctor George's dance was the only phase of the revival on the Upper End that attracted the attention of the administration. The blacksmith and one other white man from Yainax drove to George's house early one morning, when the Indians were dancing around the pole, and tried to arrest him. The blacksmith had a long black beard. When they tried to take Doctor George away, one of the Indians, an old man, caught hold of the blacksmith's beard. They had to turn George loose in order to make the old man let go, and George got away. The white men gave up and drove back to Yainax, but after that the Indians were more secretive and there was no more trouble.

Mose Brown, former leader of the "Yahooskin" (mixed Klamath and Modoc of the Upper End) had a Dream Dance. He became sick, and a group of men came and sang dream songs for him. They stayed two weeks, and he got a dream and sent men out to do as his dream said. Seven men went out, each dressed with one white feather down his back and white paint on his forehead. The seven went out on horseback, and the rule was that they should kill one deer. His son, Harrison, not understanding the ritual meaning, went along and shot two deer. They told him not to cut them up but to pack them in. When he got in, they dressed him like the seven men and put the deer on his back, with the deer's head over his, and he approached his father from the east. The son knelt down, and his father examined the deer's head, first on one side, then on the other. Harrison then let the deer fall to the ground over his head and went out. This was what his father had dreamed, and from this time on he grew better. That night Harrison dreamed the deer was chasing him, and again the next night. He was frightened, but he didn't know what to do and was afraid to say anything about it. His father,

however, was getting better, and in time the dream passed away.

These episodes, quite different in character, are probably from different periods in the growth of the Dream Dance, but it is not possible to place them accurately. The Dream Dance lasted for at least three years on the Upper End, and the end point of its change was not reached until several years after that. As these isolated examples indicate, dreaming was incorporated more and more into the context of shamanism. Certain points in the process of incorporation may be pointed out. Dreaming was aboriginally associated with sickness and shamanism. During the Dream Dance phase of the revival, dreaming of the dead was added to other kinds of dreaming as one of the causes of sickness. The first cures were attempted by carrying the patient around the circle of dancers. Doctor George's Dream Dances were largely oriented around his own cures. Other dreamers went in groups to sick persons' houses and sang for them in the twilight—a time of day traditionally associated with the dead. In time these dreamers came to be called *do'deik'álgat'k'*, a word whose basic meaning is "dreamer" but which was aboriginally applied to the novice shaman. Dream doctors began to use some of the techniques of shamanism, such as rubbing with ashes and blowing water, but did not attempt to suck out disease. For a time it was said that dream doctors could see disease but could not cure it. They began to diagnose other kinds of dreams besides dreams of the dead. In one instance, it is said, a dream doctor told a patient: "You have been dreaming of something; a bear, perhaps. You should see a shaman." Nightmares, and bad dreams generally, came to be included in the category of ways in which sickness could be caused. The end point in this development came when an accredited shaman devised a cure for a sickness caused by dreaming, which involved sending out his spirits to drive in the dream, so that he could catch it and it would no longer trouble the patient. This was a complete amalgam of aboriginal shamanistic practices with Dream Dance elements and took place at a relatively late date, probably ten to fifteen years after the inception of the Dream Dance.

It will be seen that, while the line of demarcation between the Earthlodge cult and the Dream Dance on the Upper End is uncertain, so that no single point of transition can be isolated, yet each in its entirety was different and can be recognized as a phase in the total revival. The Earthlodge cult had a doctrine in the form of a belief about an impending world-event, a fairly uniform group ritual, and regular meeting places, and the personalized features of the ritual and doctrine were associated with the dead who were thought of as returning. The Dream Dance had no doctrine in this sense. Its symbolism was not concerned with any specific world-event. The ritual was highly variable in its earlier phases and became uniform in its later phases only in so far as it was incorporated into prerevival shamanistic practices.

The highly personalized features of the Dream Dance were associated with the dead, but the dead were no longer thought of as returning. Participants in the Dream Dance had visions of them in the land of the dead. They thought of them with dread and regarded such dreaming as dangerous. These dreams were accompanied by feelings of anxiety which could be removed only by acting out the dream. Dreams which were forgotten, or were not acted out properly, made people sick. The curative aspect of the Dream Dance was introduced as a means of removing the symptoms which followed such dreaming. The Dream Dance was a much more hysterical phenomenon than either the Ghost Dance or the Earthlodge cult. It contrasted with these earlier movements which, aside from the Tule Lake version, were accepted without much excitement and with a certain skepticism. The Dream Dance was characterized by great excitement, by much sickness, and by an aimless anxiety which was not directed toward any particular event or placed in time. Most important of all, the attention of Dream Dancers was not directed toward any doctrine, or object of ritual, but toward the self. The participant's own dream experiences, symptoms, anxiety, ritual performance, power, danger, or death were the object of attention. In terms of the development of the total revival, therefore, the Dream Dance was a further step

in the progression away from group symbolism and participation toward an individual symbolism and participation.

The Ghost Dance represented a sharp break with Modoc and Klamath ritual tradition. The Earthlodge cult was more in accord with this tradition, and the Dream Dance was still more consonant with it, and in the course of its development became incorporated into it. At the same time the aboriginal distinction between the ritual experience of shamans and the ritual experience of nonshamans was broken down. Participants in the Dream Dance, particularly the strong dreamers, began acting like shamans; and shamans who participated in the Dream Dance acted more like ordinary men. Doctor George's pseudo-shamanistic cures and paraphernalia were an extreme development of this equalizing tendency. As the Dream Dance grew older, the traditional gap between shamans and nonshamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming, and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices into their rituals.

The personnel of the Dream Dance at the Upper End cannot be known in its entirety, of course. Those whose names are remembered are men who were also active in the Ghost Dance but who were less active in the Earthlodge, and include three chiefs, or former chiefs, and Doctor George, who either was already a shaman or became one soon after the Dream Dance was given up.

It is of some interest to know that Mose Brown, or Mosenkasket, as his name was sometimes written, had been the chief among the Upper End Klamath. He was ambitious politically and tried to oust Lalakes as head chief in the early days. He was prevented by the agent and not long after was deposed as chief of the Upper End Klamath, Lelu being given his place. The symbolism of deference in his dream is understandable in this context. It was not typical of the Upper End and resembled much more closely the dreams of men at the Lower End, as will be seen. By and large, however, the Upper End participated as a unit, with the exception of the Paviotso, who took no part at all.

At the Lower End the Dream Dance had a somewhat different form. It lasted about three years, and the process of transition from the forms of the Earthlodge cult to the Dream Dance forms can be more clearly recognized. Individual dreaming and home rituals were as common as at the Upper End, but the symbolic content and subsequent ritual behavior were quite different. The aspects of sickness and curing did not appear at all. Their place was taken by dreams in which the self was at the focus of attention but in an entirely different role from that characteristic of the Upper End. Some samples will illustrate the difference.

David Allen dreamed he was a shaman and saw himself preparing to smoke like a shaman, and dancing like a shaman. He was given two songs and later he gave a dance at which he danced like a shaman and sang his songs.

Jason Howard dreamed that God called him up into heaven and told him to go back to earth and learn to write, and he would take him back into heaven, and Jason could do God's writing for him. He had a song about that, and a second song about "people from heaven coming back." Jason stayed in his house, and people came in and danced and sang his songs in the evening. Jason was neither a chief nor a shaman.

Chon-chon, a shaman, had a dream in which he received a dance step, a face-painting, and a song. He built a special house and held a dance in it. Men and women stood shoulder to shoulder and stepped to the right, dragging their left feet. This man's song was: "Everyone's father is coming back and will be a big chief." In his dream he was told to ask while he was performing his dance, "Do you believe what I say?" and the dancers should answer, "Yes."

O'Toole, who brought the Ghost Dance from the Upper End, had a dream and was given many songs and told to perform a ritual. O'Toole built a special earthlodge with a corridor entrance to the east. He stood just inside the door, and everyone that came in to dance had to shake hands with him and call him "big chief." After all had come inside, O'Toole went into the crowd and showed people how to dance, paint their faces, and sing his songs, of which he had several. O'Toole said he saw dead people walking around among the crowd.

Lobert, a shaman, had a dream and built a big earthlodge with a pole in the center which went up through the smoke-hole in the roof. It was a smooth pole, with no decorations. Lobert dreamed that those who came to his dance should try to climb this pole and get up onto the roof. Those who were successful would get to heaven. He dreamed a face-painting, a dance step, and many songs. Lobert also wore a headdress and buckskin clothes, which he decorated according to his dream. Some informants said that Lobert used colored handkerchiefs. [These and the costume are reminiscent of similar practices used in the final phases of the 1870 revival in northern California. Lobert's was said to be the first Dream Dance at the Lower End, and its close similarity to the Earthlodge cult confirms this opinion.]

It will be seen that, with the exception of Lobert's dance, these performances conform closely to a single type in which the dreamer sees himself in some self-enhancing role. In some cases this role involved the acceptance of values and skills associated with white culture; in other cases it involved the acceptance of values and skills associated with Klamath culture. But in all cases it was only secondarily connected with the dead, it involved the acceptance or rejection of no particular doctrine, it was highly individualistic, and the rituals were subject to wide individual variation, which revealed dissatisfaction with the present and some concern about the future, but involved none of the vague dread and anxiety typical of the Dream Dance on the Upper End. Moreover, on the Lower End people did not become sick and connect their sickness with dreaming, as on the Upper End.

Lobert's early ritual contained elements which must be regarded as specifically Christian in origin. The use of the word "heaven" may have been injected by modern interpreters, but the notion of personal salvation, and of heaven as upward, are basic to the original ritual. There had been little missionization up to this time, but L. S. Dyar, the agent at Klamath, had been preaching for some time and reported wide interest. Mr. Harer, the commissary at Yainax, had also been preaching, but no effects of his work appeared in the Dream Dance there.

It is appropriate to inquire whether, aside from the increasing individualism of the Klamath, there is any sociological basis for the identification of some dreamers with white values, such as writing, and the identification of other dreamers with Indian values, such as shamanism or becoming big chiefs. Looking over the examples used, we find that, out of two shamans, one wanted everyone to try for personal salvation in a Christian heaven, and one asserted that everyone's father would be a big chief. Of the two commoners, one wanted to do God's writing, and one wanted everyone to call him "big chief." The head chief of the Klamath visualized himself as a shaman.

It will be remembered that at this time the magistrative power of the old-line chiefs was on the decline. Allen David was

one of these. He has been described as a handsome, grave, dignified man; a great orator, a man of influence among the Indians, and a valuable man to the administration. He was one of the old-line chiefs who had been created by the administration, and who were being replaced in power and influence by the men in mediator roles—the interpreters and agency employees who supervised ration issues. Shamans had been persecuted but had not been removed from the scene by any means. Many commoners had attempted to become individual farmers but had never succeeded in raising a good crop. It is evident that, sociologically speaking, the various segments of the Klamath population were in great confusion in their identification with white and Indian values, but that one small group, the agency employees, were in a superior position while others were, in varying degrees, deprived through their contact with white culture. The dreams, and the rituals based on dreams which are still remembered, follow this cleavage fairly closely. None showed real opposition to white values. Commoners tended to desire mediative roles; shamans wanted personal aggrandizement as “big chiefs.” Chiefs wanted ritual enhancement, one of them as a shaman. These categories are necessarily somewhat forced, for the complete picture is a conglomerate which reflects the inchoate structure of Klamath society in this preliminary period of change. The only group which was clear cut in its identification, and which had clearly benefited by contact with white culture, was the small group of agency employees, none of whom had any part in any phase of the entire revival.

During the latter half of the Dream Dance the agency belatedly recognized that a revival was going on and attempted to put a stop to it. Some of the agency employees, notably Dave Hill and Blow, made an effort to prevent Dream Dances, but they were unsuccessful as long as public sentiment was strongly behind the dances.

The Dream Dance at the Lower End came to a close with the acceptance of Christianity in 1878. The Klamath had been visited by a missionary as early as the tenure of Lalakes as head chief; Lalakes and a number of others were baptized at that

time. Soon after the Modoc War a missionary preached in the open fields at Klamath Agency. In 1878, at the close of the Dream Dance at the Lower End, Agent Nickerson organized a Methodist church and the Indians built a church house. The response was immediate. Many Indians joined this church at once, although the greatest interest came a few years later under the administration of Emery.²⁴

CONCLUSIONS

The religious revival of 1871-78 may now be placed in the total situation of change. It will be seen that all the peoples, on or near Klamath Reservation, who participated in the revival were in a preliminary period of change in which acceptance or rejection of white values was still tentative. Within every tribal group there was a division of opinion which was expressed in separate forms. Thus, the Paviotso were divided over their choice of residence; the Modoc were divided into localized factions on the basis of resistance to, or acceptance of, the fact of white conquest; and the Klamath, within a general framework of acceptance of white values, were divided as to what aspects of white culture were acceptable and confused by their lack of success in applying white skills. In all cases except the Paviotso, resistance to white encroachment, in the form of defiance of governmental authority, had brought retribution in one form or another. Owing to the lack of co-ordination between military and civil Indian policy, the Warner Valley Paviotso were able to waver in their choice of residence for seven years. The Tule Lake Modoc had been defeated in war. The Klamath, except for the shamans, accepted white encroachment and white values and skills without resistance. Yet, in the later period of revivalism, all the Klamath groups except the agency employees were losing, or had already lost, whatever benefits they originally derived from accepting white values and adopting white skills. In particular, they had been encouraged to assume responsibilities as individuals which, through no fault of theirs, they had been unable to meet; and at the same time the older mechanisms

²⁴ Cf. Kirk, *A History of the Klamath Indian Methodist Mission*.

for dealing with these responsibilities were in process of disintegration. Joint settlements were being divided; the responsibility of leadership was first centralized in the hands of a few men and then withdrawn; rituals of all kinds were in abeyance; a conscious effort was being made by the administration to decentralize all forms of leadership and responsibility and to put them into the hands of the heads of individual households, living on one-family farms, and tilling the soil as individual, responsible, American farmers. This process, which began as early as 1869, got well under way after the Modoc War, and by the time of the Dream Dance had brought failure to the Klamath farmers three years in succession. We know, therefore, that all members of the Indian community were in conflict with one another over acceptance of, or resistance to, white culture as it was presented to them, and we may well believe there was conflict in their own minds.

During this early and tentative stage of acculturation these people were presented with a doctrine and ritual which they accepted and reinterpreted. The doctrine embodied symbolisms of many kinds: assertions about the future; identifying symbols embracing group and self; demands for action; fantastic symbols of power. The ritual was foreign and was gradually modified in accord with local tradition. Subsequent to the revival, the Paviotso and Modoc returned to older, more stable ritual forms, while the Klamath accepted Methodist Christianity. But in all three groups the return to stability in the ritual life, in whatever form, coincided with acceptance and success in secular affairs connected with white values and techniques.

The basic problem presented at the outset of the investigation was defined as the relation between deprivation, experienced in the formation of the intercultural community, and participation in the revival. The response to deprivation by revivalism was only a portion of the total response, represented in individual cases by such other aspects of change as fighting, the adoption of agricultural skills, the decline of ritualism, etc. In order to define more clearly the relations between revivalism and deprivation, the relation of revivalism in the various groups under consideration to other aspects of change should be examined.

The Paviotso resisted white contact from the outset, but when their resistance met with effective counterresistance they pursued a passive course, merely dodging the soldiers as long as possible. In so doing they suffered much deprivation, but when it became too severe they returned to Klamath Reservation as a refuge. The Warner Valley group were unable to decide between their old home and Klamath Reservation and vacillated between them. All the Paviotso were subject to minimal cultural changes of all kinds. They quietly resisted all efforts to put them on farms, and they were regarded as too low in the cultural scale to be amenable to the introduction of democratic institutions. Their participation in the revival was minimal. Their doctrine contained no overtly aggressive assertions, either against whites or against themselves. They experienced no autistic visions and produced no hysterical symptoms. The revival ran its course in a short time and left no permanent residues. Its form was thoroughly in accord with their passive resistance to white culture. It contained no specific assertions about themselves or whites but was merely a revival of old forms and practices. It was anti-white only in the sense that it was nonwhite.

The Tule Lake Modoc represented that portion of the Modoc tribe which had selected the most aggressive course of action in the intercultural situation. They both resisted the whites and demanded concessions from them. They suffered extreme deprivation initially, although no more so than the reservation Modoc. Their participation in the revival was brief. Its symbolism, as accepted by them, was extremely aggressive and specific in its assertions. It contained both anti-white and anti-self elements, and was accompanied by hysterical symptoms and autistic fantasies. In both ritual and doctrine, the group symbol "Modoc" was enhanced to the detriment of the symbol "white." The course of the revival was principally an increase in ritual activity, accompanied by nonritual acts which were extremely aggressive, both against the self and against the outside world, and justified in the name of the collective symbol. This was in accord with the inclusion in this group of the aggressive and dissatisfied elements in the Modoc community. A quick test and rejection of the aggressive aspects of the ritual coincided with the

outbreak of physical aggression—a course of action subsequently followed by retaliation and failure to get the desired end.

The reservation Modoc suffered deprivation in the initial period, particularly damage to the integrity of the collective symbol. It will be remembered that in the beginning this group followed Sconchin, who chose to accept government support of his position. After the initial resistance they chose a passive course of action, accepting the fact of white conquest and relying on governmental authority to retain what advantages had accrued to them in the early period of culture change. When they were offered the revival doctrine, they accepted the self-enhancing symbolism, gradually increasing the anti-white doctrine and simultaneously increasing the self-punishing aspects of the doctrine until the collective symbolism was abandoned and specific fears gave way to general anxiety. This general anxiety was relieved by the production of physical symptoms which were, in turn, relieved by pseudo-shamanistic treatment. The whole affair was concluded by incorporation of revival elements into aboriginal shamanism.

The members of this group were divided in their allegiance and experienced difficulty in making up their minds to remain on the reservation during the Modoc War. At one time they withdrew in a body but went only as far as Lost River, explaining to the agent that they had been afraid of the Klamath and had gone to Lost River to escape the work of Klamath shamans. Their choice of a course of action was evidently a source of emotional conflict, which may easily have been responsible for the generalized anxiety of the post-war period of revivalism.

This hypothesis is confirmed by the action of the Upper End Klamath, who participated in the revival in much the same way as the Modoc, but who produced no autism in the early phases, and only partially shared the anxiety phase of the revival. During the Dream Dance the Upper End Klamath rituals corresponded more closely to those of the Lower End Klamath.

Members of the latter group resisted the first white encroachment but were receptive to white culture when it was presented to them in an acceptable form at the hands of traders. During

the early period of culture change which followed their trade contacts at The Dalles, Klamath society underwent a change in the status hierarchy on a basis of identification with white values and skills. Changes in this hierarchy corresponded closely with participation in the revival. By the time of the revival only one small group had received unequivocal benefits from identification with white values and acceptance of white skills. This group consisted of the agency employees. The other groups—chiefs, shamans, commoners, and slaves—all participated. However, they persisted in their basic attitude of faith in the future, in so far as it was identified with white culture.

The basic relation is therefore clear. Acceptance or rejection of white culture did not determine acceptance or rejection of the revival doctrine, but success or failure in gaining the ends anticipated in the acceptance or rejection of white culture did determine acceptance or rejection of the doctrine. Participants in the revival were people who in some measure had failed to derive the satisfactions they anticipated in following a particular course of action. In this sense they were deprived, and this, it appears, is the basic relation between deprivation and revivalism.

It will be seen that deprivation, in this sense, was experienced within the context of acceptance or rejection of white culture, and was experienced as damage to the integrity of both group and individual symbol. Both these aspects of deprivation were reflected in the doctrine and ritual of the revival. The Paviotso neither accepted nor rejected white culture but took a passive attitude of disinterest. The symbols of white aggression, values, and skills did not appear in any overt form in their doctrine. The Tule Lake Modoc resisted white encroachment and rejected white culture in an aggressive way. The Ghost Dance at Tule Lake was an aspect of aggressive resistance which was expressed in the symbolism of doctrine and ritual, used as an aggressive weapon against the whites, and rejected when it proved ineffectual. It has been pointed out that the Modoc experienced cultural changes secondary to those of the Klamath and were immune to the effects of reservation policy. The deprivation they suffered, therefore, was widespread and uniform through-

out the population, and was associated with the group symbol. The level on which deprivation took place was reflected in the Ghost Dance doctrine.

The reservation Modoc were subject to the same initial deprivation as the Tule Lake Modoc. They suffered additional damage to the group symbol at the hands of a non-white group—the Klamath. Before the war they engaged in a revival with strong group and anti-white symbols. During the war they were undecided about their course of action and later produced a revival which was oriented around symptoms of anxiety. Thus in their revival they reflected the damage to the group symbol at the hands of the whites, but not at the hands of the Klamath, and later they produced symptoms appropriate to their conflict over alternative modes of action. The fact that no anti-Klamath doctrine appeared fixes the character of the revival as an anti-white movement. There was an anti-Klamath reaction, nonritual in its nature, which, aside from the flight to Lost River, took the form of gossip and hostile anecdotes which are remembered to this day.

The Upper End Klamath and the reservation Modoc accepted the earlier doctrines in much the same form, except that the Klamath were less aggressive in all their manifestations—in the matter of anti-white doctrine, autism, hysteria, and assertions of danger in the ritual. During the Earthlodge cult they accepted the aggressive, anti-white, and antiself doctrines in the same way as the Modoc—elements which the Lower End Klamath deleted. This was not in accord with the character of Upper End Klamath experiences. In all phases of the revival except the Earthlodge cult, the Upper End Klamath combined elements characteristic of both Klamath and Modoc, but in this instance they pursued a course very close to that of the Modoc. The circumstances which determined their choice are only partially known. In this instance the fact that there was only one dance house on the Upper End, at which joint Modoc and Klamath rituals were held, must be taken into account.

The Lower End Klamath were receptive to white culture from the beginning. They were not removed, engaged in no armed

conflict, and were eager and willing to accept the ways of white culture whenever they were shown them. At an early date they identified their future with the symbols of white culture. In the revival, as in their other reactions to white contact, they preserved this optimistic outlook. In both the Ghost Dance and the Earthlodge cult they deleted anti-white doctrines and specific aggressive assertions about their own future in its relation to the anticipated world-event. Even after they had attempted to become individual farmers and discovered that their attempt had failed to reward them, they did not express pessimism about their future, only confusion about which of the available roles they should select.

It will be seen, then, that:

1. Deprivation on Klamath Reservation occurred both as a result of initial attack and as a by-product of acculturation.

2. When both these aspects of deprivation are taken into account, it is seen that deprivation coincided closely with participation in the revival.

3. Deprivation through acculturation occurred primarily as an incongruity between values and the techniques for attaining them. Skills were introduced which brought no rewards, and values were introduced without appropriate skills for acquiring them.

4. Deprivation occurred, therefore, in groups which accepted, as well as those which rejected, the symbols of white culture.

5. Hence the basic fact of deprivation was the denial of satisfactions anticipated and sought for by resisting or accepting the symbols of white culture.

6. The groups which suffered the most aggressive attack initially accepted or produced ritual symbols which either (*a*) threatened aggressive retaliation against the whites, (*b*) named the agency of retaliation as an impersonal cosmic event, (*c*) protected themselves from destruction by the performance of ritual and belief in the doctrine, or (*d*) engaged in self-punishing ritual practices.

7. The only group which had extensively taken over white values and skills—the Klamath—produced fantasies which ex-

pressed (a) their acceptance of the roles defined by white administrators, and (b) their dissatisfaction with the benefits attached to their own roles.

8. The only group which had unequivocally benefited by identification with, and acceptance of, white skills and values—the Indian employees at the agency—not only took no part in the revival but attempted to suppress it.

9. The course of the revival as a whole followed a progression from enhancement of group symbols, group participation, and attention focused on doctrine to enhancement of personal symbols, individual ritual, and attention focused on the self.

In view of these facts the hypothesis set forth in the introduction to this paper should be modified as follows: *Nativistic cults arise among deprived groups. Deprivation may occur within the framework of either acceptance or rejection of values and skills associated with white culture. Revivalism, however, is only one aspect of a total response to white culture. Revivalism is that portion of the response which expresses in ritual symbolism the basic attitudes of acceptance or rejection of white culture, feelings of loss or damage, aggressive retaliation in response to deprivation suffered, and self-punishing assertions and practices in proportion to aggressive retaliation.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following abbreviations are used:

AA	American Anthropologist
AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs
AES-P	American Ethnological Society, Publications
AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers
AMNH-B	American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, (Annual) Reports
CU-CA	Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology
FMNH-PAS	Field Museum of Natural History, Publications, Anthropological Series
ICA	International Congress of Americanists
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore
SI-CK	Smithsonian Institution, Contributions to Knowledge
SI-MC	Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology

- APPLEGATE, LINDSAY. Notes and Reminiscences of Laying Out and Establishing the Old Emigrant Road into Southern Oregon in the Year 1846 (The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, 22, 12-45).
- BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. History of Oregon, II (The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, San Francisco, 1886).
- BATTEY, THOMAS. Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians (Boston, 1903).
- BICKNELL, A. D. The Tama County Indians (Annals of Iowa, 4, 1899, 196-208).
- BLAIR, E. H. (ed.) Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes Region (Cleveland, 1912).
- BOAS, FRANZ. The Methods of Ethnology (AA, n.s., 22, 1920, 311-21).
- . History and Science in Anthropology: A Reply (AA, n.s., 38, 1936, 137-41).
- BUSBY, ALLIE B. Two Summers among the Musquakies (Vinton, Iowa, 1886).
- CASTETTER, EDWARD F., and OPLER, MORRIS E. The Ethnobiology of the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache, No. III (Ethnobiological Studies in the American Southwest, Bulletin of the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N.M., 1936).
- CURTIS, E. S. The North American Indian (Cambridge, 1909-11, Vols. V-VI).
- DENIG, EDWIN T. Tribes of the Upper Missouri (BAE-R, 46, 1929, 393-628).
- DE SMET, FATHER. Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J., 1801-1873 (New York, 1905, 2 vols.).

- DORSEY, GEORGE A. The Arapaho Sun Dance (FMNH-PAS, 4, 1903).
 ———. The Cheyenne, I: Ceremonial Organization (FMNH-PAS, 9, 1905, No. 1).
 ———. The Cheyenne, II: The Sun Dance (FMNH-PAS, 9, 1905, No. 2).
 DORSEY, J. OWEN. Omaha Sociology (BAE-R, 3, 1884, 211-370).
 ———. Siouan Sociology (BAE-R, 15, 1897, 213-44).
 DU BOIS, CORA. The Ghost Dance of 1870 in Northern California and Southern Oregon (MS).
 EGGAN, FRED. The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos with Especial Reference to the Hopi (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1933).
 ———. Historical Changes in the Choctaw Kinship System (AA, n.s., 39, 1937, 34-52).
 FLETCHER, ALICE C., and LA FLESCH, F. The Omaha Tribe (BAE-R, 27, 1911).
 FULTON, A. R. The Red Men of Iowa (Des Moines, 1882).
 GAYTON, A. H. The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South-Central California (UCP-AAE, 28, 1930, No. 3).
 GIFFORD, EDWARD W. Californian Kinship Terminologies (UCPAAE, 18, 1922).
 GILBERT, WILLIAM H., JR. Eastern Cherokee Social Organization (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1934).
 GODDARD, P. E. Dancing Societies of the Sarsi (AMNH-AP, 11, 1916).
 GRINNELL, GEORGE B. The Cheyenne Indians (New Haven, 1923, 2 vols.).
 HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. Recent Changes in the Kinship Terminology of the St. Francis Abenaki (ICA, 22, 1928, 97-145).
 HOBHOUSE, L. T. *Morals in Evolution* (London, 1915).
 HOEBEL, E. A. Associations and the State in the Plains (AA, n.s., 38, 1936, 433-38).
 JAMES, EDWIN. An Account of an Expedition . . . to the Rocky Mountains in the Years 1819, 1820, by S. H. Long (London, 1823, 2 vols.).
 JONES, H. B. The Death Song of the Noble Savage (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1924).
 JONES, WILLIAM. Fox Texts (AES-P, 1, 1907).
 ———. Mortuary Observances and the Adoption Rites of the Algonkian Foxes of Iowa (ICA, 15, 1907, 263-67).
 ———. Notes on the Fox Indians (JAFI, 24, 1911, 209-37).
 KIRK, CLAYTON. A History of the Klamath Indian Methodist Mission (MS, 1936).
 KROEBER, A. L. The Arapaho, I: General Description (AMNH-B, 18, 1902, part 1).
 ———. The Arapaho, III: Ceremonial Organization (AMNH-B, 18, 1904, part 3).
 ———. Ethnology of the Gros Ventre (AMNH-AP, 1, 1908, part 4).
 ———. History and Science in Anthropology (AA, n.s., 37, 1935, 539-69).
 LESSER, A. Some Aspects of Siouan Kinship (ICA, 23, 1930, 563-71).
 ———. The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: A Study in Cultural Change (CU-CA, 16, 1933).
 LINTON, RALPH. *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936).
 LOWIE, R. H. The Northern Shoshone (AMNH-AP, 2, 1909, 165-305).
 ———. The Assiniboiné (AMNH-AP, 4, 1909, 1-269).

- LOWIE, R. H. Social Life of the Crow Indians (AMNH-AP, 9, 1912, part 2).
 —. Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians (AA, n.s., 14, 1912, 60-71).
 —. Dance Associations of the Eastern Dakota (AMNH-AP, 11, 1916, 101-42).
 —. Military Societies of the Crow Indians (AMNH-AP, 11, 1916).
 —. Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone (AMNH-AP, 11, 1916, 803-35).
 —. Plains Indian Age-Societies: Historical and Comparative Summary (AMNH-AP, 11, 1916).
 —. Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians (AMNH-AP, 11, 1916).
 —. Notes on the Social Organization and Customs of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians (AMNH-AP, 21, 1917, 1-99).
 —. Primitive Society (New York, 1920).
 —. Origin of the State (New York, 1927).
 —. The Omaha and Crow Kinship Terminologies (ICA, 24, 1930, 102-8, reprint).
 —. (article) Kinship (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 8, 1935, 568-72).
 MCALLISTER, J. GILBERT. Kiowa-Apache Social Organization (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1935).
 MCGEE, W. J. A Muskaki Bowl (AA, o.s., 11, 1898, 88-91).
 MACLEOD, WILLIAM C. The Origin of the State (Philadelphia, 1924).
 MALINOWSKI, B. Crime and Custom in Savage Society (London, 1926).
 MEACHAM, A. B. Wigwam and Warpath or The Royal Chief in Chains (Boston, 1875).
 MEAD, MARGARET (ed.) Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples (New York, 1937).
 MICHELSON, T. Notes on the Piegan System of Consanguinity (Holmes Anniversary Volume, 1916, pp. 320-34).
 —. The Owl Sacred Pack of the Fox Indians (BAE-B, 72, 1921).
 —. How Meskwaki Children Should Be Brought Up (in E. C. Parsons [ed.] American Indian Life, New York, 1922).
 —. The Autobiography of a Fox Indian Woman (BAE-R, 40, 1925, 291-349).
 —. The Mythical Origin of the White Buffalo Dance of the Fox Indians (BAE-R, 40, 1925, 23-289).
 —. Note on Fox Mortuary Customs and Beliefs (BAE-R, 40, 1925, 351-496).
 —. Notes on the Fox Society Known as Those Who Worship the Little Spotted Buffalo (BAE-R, 40, 1925, 497-539).
 —. The Traditional Origin of the Fox Society Known as the Singing Around Rite (BAE-R, 40, 1925, 541-615).
 —. Contributions to Fox Ethnology (BAE-B, 85, 1927).
 —. Buffalo Head Dance of the Thunder Gens of the Fox Indians (BAE-B, 87, 1928).
 —. Contributions to Fox Ethnology, II (BAE-B, 95, 1930).
 —. The Narrative of a Southern Cheyenne Woman (SI MC, 87, 1932, No. 5).

- MICHELSON, T. Notes on the Fox *Wapanowiweni* (BAE-B, 105, 1932).
 ———. The Narrative of an Arapaho Woman (AA, n.s., 35, 1933, 595-610).
 ———. Some Arapaho Kinship Terms and Social Usages (AA, n.s., 36, 1934, 137-39).
 MOONEY, JAMES. Cherokee and Iroquois Parallels (JAFL, 2, 1889, No. 4).
 ———. Myths of the Cherokees (JAFL, 1, 1889, No. 2).
 ———. Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees (BAE-R, 7, 1891).
 ———. The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak (BAE-R, 14, 1896).
 ———. Calendar History of the Kiowa (BAE-R, 17, 1898).
 ———. Myths of the Cherokees (BAE-R, 19, 1900).
 ———. The Cheyenne Indians (AAA-M, 1, 1907, part 6).
 MORGAN, LEWIS H. Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family (SI-CK, 17, 1871).
 MURIE, JAMES R. Pawnee Indian Societies (AMNH-AP, 11, 1916).
 NASH, PHILLEO. Revivalism and Social Change (MS, 1937).
 OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE, Klamath Agency, Oregon.
 OLBRECHTS, F. M. The Swimmer Manuscript (BAE-B, 99, 1932).
 OPLER, MORRIS E. An Analysis of Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache Social Organization in the Light of Their Systems of Relationship (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1933).
 ———. An Interpretation of Ambivalence of Two American Indian Tribes (Journal of Social Psychology, 7, 1936, 82-116).
 ———. The Kinship Systems of the Southern Athabaskan-Speaking Tribes (AA, n.s., 38, 1936, 620-33).
 PERRY, D. W. (ed.). The Indian's Friend, John H. Segar (Chronicles of Oklahoma, 11, 1933, No. 2).
 PROVINSE, JOHN H. The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Culture: An Approach to the Study of Primitive Law (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1934).
 RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R. The Social Organization of Australian Tribes ("Oceania" Monographs, No. 1, Melbourne, 1931).
 ———. The Andaman Islanders (Cambridge, 1933, 2d ed.).
 ———. (article) Law: Primitive (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 10, 1935).
 ———. (article) Sanctions, Social (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 13, 1935).
 ———. On the Concept of Function in Social Science (AA, n.s., 37, 1935, 394-402).
 RIGGS, S. D. Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnography (U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, 9, 1893).
 ROY, SARAT CHANDRA. The Oraons of Chōtā Nāgpur (Ranchi, 1915).
 ———. Oraon Religion and Customs (Calcutta, 1928).
 SCOTT, H. L. Early History and Names of the Arapaho (AA, n.s., 9, 1907, 545-60).
 SEGAR, J. H. Cheyenne Marriage Customs (JAFL, 7, 1898, 298-301).
 SKINNER, ALANSON. Eastern Dakota Ethnology (AA, n.s., 21, 1919).
 SMITH, MAURICE G. Political Organization of the Plains Indians, with Special Reference to the Council (University of Nebraska Studies, 24, 1924, 1-84).

- SPIER, LESLIE. The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America (UW-PA, 1, 1925, No. 2, 71-88).
- . The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1925).
- . The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon (UW-PA, 2, 1927, No. 2).
- . Klamath Ethnography (UCPAAE, 30, 1930).
- STRONG, W. D. Cross-Cousin Marriage and the Culture of the Northeast Algonkian (AA, n.s., 31, 1929, 277-88).
- . Anthropological Theory and Archaeological Fact (Essays in Anthropology in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber, Berkeley, 1936, pp. 359-70).
- SUMNER, W. G. Folkways (Boston, 1907).
- SWANTON, JOHN R. Aboriginal Culture in the Southeast (BAE-R, 42, 1928).
- . Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy (BAE-R, 42, 1928).
- . Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians (BAE-R, 44, 1928).
- . Some Neglected Data Bearing on Cheyenne, Chippewa, and Dakota History (AA, n.s., 32, 1930, 156-60).
- . Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians (BAE-B, 103, 1931).
- TAX, SOL. The Social Organization of the Fox Indians (MS, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1933).
- . Primitive Social Organization with Some Description of the Social Organization of the Fox Indians (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1935).
- WALLIS, W. D. The Sun Dance of The Canadian Dakota (AMNH-AP, 16, 1921, 317-80).
- WARD, DUREN H. Meskwakia (Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 4, 1906, 179-89).
- WARD, PAUL. Sovereignty: A Study of a Contemporary Political Notion (London, 1928).
- WARNER, W. LLOYD. Discussion of "Nativistic Religious Movements" (Proceedings of the Seminar on Racial and Cultural Contacts, University of Chicago, 1935-36, mimeographed).
- WILLIAMS, F. E. The Vailala Madness and the Destruction of Native Ceremonies in the Gulf Division (Anthropology Report No. 4, Territory of Papua, 1924).
- WISSLER, CLARK. The Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians (AMNH-AP, 5, 1910, 1-108).
- . The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians (AMNH-AP, 7, 1911, 1-64).
- . Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota (AMNH-AP, 11, 1916, 1-99).
- . Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians (AMNH-AP, 11, 1916, 363-460).
- . The American Indian (New York, 1922).
- . North American Indians of the Plains (AMNH-Handbook Series, No. 1, 1927).

